SHIFTING GROUNDS OF ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE: BOUNDARY CONDITIONS AND FIELD FORMATIONS IN THE U.S. DESIGN PROFESSIONS

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SHIFTING GROUNDS OF ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE: BOUNDARY CONDITIONS AND FIELD FORMATIONS IN THE U.S. DESIGN PROFESSIONS

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Dedicated to the memory of Douglas C. Allen.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACPI	American City Planning Institute
ACSA	Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture
AIA	American Institute of Architects
ASCE	American Society of Civil Engineers
ASEE	American Society of Engineering Education
ASLA	American Society of Landscape Architects
CCP	Committee on the Congestion of Population
NCCP	National Conference on City Planning
SPEE	Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education

SUMMARY

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the discourses and practices associated with the design of buildings and cities in the United States became increasingly differentiated and segregated according to the formation of distinct disciplinary boundaries. This division of expertise ultimately gave rise to four modern professions: civil engineering, architecture, landscape architecture, and city planning. The present study contends that the emergence of these four distinct professions had dramatic implications for the treatment of ground. Whereas certain aspects of architectural production can be neatly compartmentalized within one profession or another, the ground extends boundlessly as both a physical and conceptual substructure undergirding any act of design. By closely analyzing the development of educational curricula, professional publications, and legal frameworks, this study highlights the ways in which jurisdictional contests over various manifestations of ground shaped the modern trajectories of architecture, civil engineering, landscape architecture, and city planning in the United States.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

I first read Vitruvius as an undergraduate student. Not knowing any better, I blindly accepted his expansive view of architectural jurisdiction. Within *De architectura*, matters ranging from the construction of buildings to the grading of topography to the layout of streets to the cultivation of the natural environment all fall under the architect's purview. In addition to these various aspects of practice, Vitruvius also advised that architects be educated in such diverse subjects as geometry, history, philosophy, music, and medicine. For young students like myself, this conception of the Vitruvian Architect as both an enlightened intellectual and a versatile practitioner represented an ideal toward which to aspire. Yet, when I got my first taste of the profession—a summer internship in Pawleys Island, South Carolina—I was struck by the limited scope of architectural practice. Architects, I quickly discovered, are not the only professionals tasked with the design and improvement of the built environment. Instead, they work as part of a larger ensemble, also comprised of civil engineers, landscape architects, and city planners. Upon having this realization, I wondered how I could have been so naïve in the first place.

Looking back, it seems that my naivety may have stemmed, at least in part, from the way in which history is presented to design students. One of the most striking characteristics of any textbook on "architectural history" is the inclusiveness of its scope. Mirroring Vitruvius' approach, these books portray architecture as an all-encompassing enterprise, which not only includes the design of buildings, but also the design of cities, infrastructures, and landscapes. Within their pages, the professional boundaries between architects, civil engineers, landscape architects, and city planners become indistinguishable. Rarely is any serious attention devoted to

the interactions among these four allied disciplines. In what follows, I seek to address and correct such a historiographical oversight.

1.1 Overview

This study traces the formation of disciplinary boundaries within the American design professions. It is neither a comprehensive survey of architectural practice nor an attempt to exhaustively analyze the multi-faceted disciplines of civil engineering, landscape architecture, and city planning. Instead, the focus is directed toward specific moments of overlap, slippage, and competition between and among these four design fields during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Above all else, the study argues that the American design professions developed as a system, rather than a series of independent entities. As the selected case studies illustrate, the actions of one profession directly influenced the positioning of the others. By charting these developments, this study aims to unpack the dramatic consequences of professional individuation.

In the United States, the professionalization of design began around the middle of the nineteenth century. American architects and civil engineers initially worked together, founding the American Society of Civil Engineers and Architects in 1852. Shortly after its foundation, however, the architects separated and established their own organization, the American Institute of Architects, in 1857.[1] The American Society of Landscape Architects was formed several decades later, in 1899, followed by the American City Planning Institute in 1917. In many ways, the distribution of design expertise across four professions was entirely consistent with broader trends toward specialization that affected nearly every aspect of American life during the late

[1] While this brief timeline of professional development provides a useful context, it belies the messy and nonlinear structure of the past. In the 1830s, for instance, architects unsuccessfully attempted to establish a professional organization independent from

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But this division of labor also created problems where none had existed before. Eventually, it became clear that this distributed model of practice would require clear delineations of expertise. As each discipline defined its own professional turf, however, numerous jurisdictional overlaps developed, complicating the tasks of coordination and collaboration.

The tensions among the four design professions come to the forefront when one considers the discourses and practices associated with "ground." Whereas certain aspects of architectural production can be neatly compartmentalized within one profession or another, the ground extends boundlessly as both a physical and conceptual substructure undergirding any act of design. For this reason, the ground became a locus of jurisdictional overlap and competition during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At annual conferences and within publications, competing professionals debated which group held the proper expertise and authority to oversee the design of building foundations, parks, site plans, gardens, street grids, plazas, and other manifestations of ground. In making their cases, each of the four professions drew upon a different set of skills and practices, which reflected their own discipline-specific value systems.

Focusing primarily on the period between 1890 and 1914—the culmination of the "long nineteenth century"—this study correlates the competing discourses on ground within the American design professions in order to tell a larger narrative about the subdivision and distribution of expertise across disciplines. Whereas previous generations might have understood architecture, civil engineering, landscape architecture, and city planning to be one in the same, such a unified approach would become the exception rather than the rule throughout most of the twentieth century. Close analysis of this historical transformation reveals how jurisdictional

dynamics shaped the modern trajectories of the American design professions, which continue to be enacted today.

1.2 Professions and Society

The historical development of the American design professions is interwoven with the densification and industrialization of American cities during the late nineteenth century. Rather than eliminating the threat of untamed "nature," industrialized urbanization amplified the potential impact of environmental disaster. Throughout this period of American history, earthquakes and fires devastated several major cities, including Chicago (1871), Boston (1872), Seattle (1889), Baltimore (1904), and San Francisco (1906), among others. These catastrophic events prompted numerous responses within American society, from the establishment of publicly funded fire departments to the passage of safety codes. They also heightened the need for minimum standards of competence within the building construction industry. It was within this context that the American design professions emerged.

A 1904 cartoon published in *Architectural Record* depicts the city of Baltimore in the aftermath of a disastrous fire, which destroyed more than 1,500 structures (Fig. 1.1). Titled "The Professional Invasion of Baltimore," the cartoon humorously depicts architects of all stripes seeking to capitalize on the city's recent devastation. In the foreground, these architects surround frustrated business owners, displaying their variously styled plans for rebuilding. One architect is even shown advertising a doghouse to a small, skeptical pup. Behind them, the iconic Belvidere Hotel [sic] has been transformed into temporary offices for architectural firms that claim to have the cheapest prices and the fastest service. "Plans while you wait," one sign advertises. Another announces, "We have everything in stock from a cathedral to a chicken coop." Among the

numerous architectural camps represented are the École des Beaux Art, the American Institute of Architects, and proponents of the Art Nouveau, each with their own distinct accouterments. In the distant background, a train can be seen heading toward the city carrying many more architects to compete for jobs. As a whole, the satirical cartoon portrays architects as desperate opportunists with no sense of ethics or codes of conduct. Yet, the overarching message is somewhat ambiguous. Is professionalism the cause of this embarrassing scene or is it the solution? To fully comprehend the complex dynamics that underlie this cartoon's creation and reception, one must reflect upon on the nature of professions and their role within modern society.

Professions are distinct from other types of occupations in that they require extensive training and, in turn, offer relatively high degrees of autonomy and social prestige. Summarizing a common viewpoint within the literature, one sociologist notes that societies reward professionals with such prestige "because professions have special competence in esoteric bodies of knowledge linked to central needs and values of the social system, and because professions are devoted to the service of the public, above and beyond material incentives."[2] Everett Hughes expressed a similar sentiment in his classic 1958 text, *Men and Their Work*:

> Professionals...perhaps more than other kinds of occupations, claim a legal, moral and intellectual mandate. Not merely do the practitioners, by virtue of gaining admission to the charmed circle of colleagues, individually exercise the license to do things others do not do, but collectively they presume to tell society what is good and right for the individual and for society at large in some aspect of life.[3]

It is worth pointing out that these kinds of heroic interpretations of professionals are largely the creation of social scientists working in the so-called "classic period" of scholarship, which

[2] Magali Sarfatti Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977), x. It is important to note that such a statement does not accurately characterize Larson's own interpretation. Her landmark study, *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis*, highlights the ways in which professionals seek to "constitute and control a market for their expertise." (xvi)
[3] Everett Hughes, *Men and Their Work* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1958), 79.

thrived between 1930 and 1960. According to Randall Collins, these early examiners of professions described ideal models "towards which everything is evolving (or against which everything is judged)."[4] In the mid-1960s, however, sociologists and cultural theorists began to revise these interpretations by emphasizing the ways in which professions use knowledge as an instrument of power. For instance, scholars like Eliot Freidson and Magali Sarfatti Larson have argued that professions seek to control their own admittance requirements and standards for practice, because this type of self-regulation ensures a privileged position within the labor market.[5] Other scholars have taken this critical interpretation even farther, characterizing professions as "successful monopolies reaping the benefits of their market controls in the form of high incomes."[6]

As this brief discussion indicates, professions have been interpreted as altruistic bodies that deploy their specialized skills for the betterment of wider society *and* as self-serving groups that leverage their expertise for money, power, and social status. Interestingly, both of these interpretations rely upon the same mechanism: restricting outsiders from entry. Barriers to professional practice often take the form of extensive training requirements and multi-step verification processes to test learning outcomes. Within the design fields, for instance, an aspiring practitioner might be required to earn a degree from an accredited university program, log a certain number of hours under the supervision of a recognized professional, and then pass a series of exams before attaining professional licensure. Depending on one's point-of-view, this elaborate process of acquiring and demonstrating expert knowledge could be seen either as a

[4] Randall Collins, "Changing Conceptions in the Sociology of Professions," in *The Formation of the Professions: Knowledge, State and Strategy*, ed. Rolf Torstendahl and Michael Burrage (London: Sage, 1990), 16.
[5] For instance, see Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism*, xvii: "Professionalization is thus an attempt to translate one order of scarce resources—special knowledge and skills—into another—social and economic rewards. To maintain scarcity implies a tendency to monopoly: monopoly of expertise in the market, monopoly of status in a system of stratification. The focus on the constitution of professional markets leads to comparing different professions in terms of the 'marketability' of their specific cognitive resources." Also see, Eliot Freidson, *Professional Powers: A Study of the Institutionalization of Formal Knowledge* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1986).
[6] Collins, "Changing Conceptions in the Sociology of Professions," 13-14.

means for maintaining standards of practice (in the name of public safety) *or* as a means for establishing a monopoly within the labor market. In reality, most professions likely reside somewhere in between these two extremes.

Regardless of the underlying motivation, barriers that restrict outsiders from entry—such as educational and licensure requirements—represent one type of milestone for professional development. Other milestones might include founding a professional organization or establishing a professional journal. As these milestones are achieved, sociologists have argued, a profession moves forwards in its progression toward a state of "maturity." The more "mature" a profession becomes, the more it is able to exert its influence upon society at large.[7] Although individual scholars may disagree on the specifics, this general model of linear professionalization characterizes much of the literature on the sociology of professions. Yet, such an approach fails to acknowledge the critical relations between and among professions competing for similar types of work. In an effort to address this historiographical oversight, the present study builds upon the work of Andrew Abbott who proposes jurisdictional analysis as a radical alternative to conventional models of professional development.

1.3 Jurisdiction

In his book, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*, Andrew Abbott challenges the traditional conception of professionalization as an independent, linear process. The key premise of his argument is that professional development relies on the linkage

[7] The amount of power that professions actually wield within modern capitalist society is an issue still up for debate. Eliot Freidson, a major figure in the field, has emphasized the exclusionary mechanisms that professions construct within competitive markets. According to Freidson, the specialized knowledge that professionals possess is a source of power that can be used for either personal or public benefit. Elliot Krause, on the other hand, has challenged this common interpretation, arguing that the influence of professions actually declined during the second half of the twentieth century. In his book, *The Death of the Guilds*, Krause argues that the capitalist state, rather than professions themselves, wields the majority of power. Yet, this interpretation relies on the problematic assumption that professions are separable from the state and the structures of modern capitalism.

between a profession and its work. So, rather than conceptualizing professions as developing in sequential stages—founding an organization, establishing educational pathways, requiring licensure, and so on—Abbott focuses on the ways in which a profession's relationship to its work changes over time. He refers to this dynamic between professions and work as *jurisdiction*. Under this framework, competition between and among professions over certain aspects of practice operates as a critical driver of professional development. Extending Abbott's argument to the design professions, it becomes clear that the historical trajectory of architecture cannot be understood independent of civil engineering, landscape architecture, and city planning (and vice versa).[8]

Unfortunately, the impact of jurisdictional competition is rarely acknowledged within historical accounts of the design professions. If inter-professional dynamics are discussed at all, they are typically secondary to the author's larger argument. Only a few historians have directly addressed the formation of disciplinary boundaries and professional overlaps. For instance, Andrew Saint's *Architect and Engineer: A Study in Sibling Rivalry* traces the interwoven professions of architecture and engineering in the United States, France, and England during the seventieth and eighteenth centuries. Similarly, Anthony Alofsin examines the parallel development of Harvard's degree programs in architecture, landscape architecture, and city planning in his book, *The Struggle for Modernism*. However, even these histories do not fully consider the ways in which professional competition shapes the future trajectories of individual design disciplines. The present study, on the other hand, addresses such a historiographical oversight by focusing explicitly on the phenomenon of jurisdiction within the American design professions amid the socio-political shifts of the Progressive Era.

[8] Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 20.

One potential limitation of Abbott's jurisdictional model is its presumption that professions are themselves fully individuated groups. Other scholars might conceptualize architecture, civil engineering, landscape architecture, and city planning as a series of intersecting fields, whose edges are blurred, rather than defined. For instance, Hélène Lipstadt has tested Pierre Bourdieu's *cultural fields of production* as a model for analyzing the professional dynamics of architectural competitions.[9] Her interpretation is instructive, because it reveals the ways in which design professionals not only compete for work, but also for the opportunity to define the nature and value of that work:

> The most general thing that can be said about a field is that it is a contest for authority over the field itself; without this struggle, there can be no field. Structured by contests for domination or power, both symbolic and real, fields are arenas in which everything is always at play and up for grabs, including the shared principles that define the identity of the field and that are used to establish the boundaries that distinguish it from others, which are themselves matters of perpetual dispute and rarely fixed by law.[10]

Since the design professions were still in flux during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this conceptualization of "field formations" is an important idea to counterbalance my analysis of jurisdictional competition.[11]

1.4 Shifting Grounds

In the subsequent chapters, jurisdictional dynamics within the American design professions are highlighted through a series of case studies that revolve around the theme of

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[9] Bourdieu's perspective was largely shaped by his own suspicion of the sociological discourse on professions. According to him, the profession is a "folk concept which has been uncritically smuggled into scientific language." As quoted in Lipstadt, "Can 'art Professions' Be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production? The Case of The Architecture Competition," 393.

[10] Hélène Lipstadt, "Can 'art Professions' Be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production? The Case of The Architecture Competition," *Cultural Studies* 17, no. 3-4 (2003): 398.

[11] To determine the limits of a field, Lipstadt proposes Bourdieu's notion of a "field effect": "A field effect is, in a certain sense, an instrument born of [Bordieu's] fundamental definition of a field as a 'space within which an effect of the field is exercised, so that what happens to an object that traverses that space cannot be explained solely by the intrinsic properties of the object in question.' Although establishing the limits of a field is among the most difficult of tasks, for it is, as we shall see, in the nature of fields to have their boundaries constantly in play, he acknowledged that the evidence of the diminishing of the effect can serve as a preliminary indicator that the limits of a field have been reached." Lipstadt, "Can 'art Professions' Be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production? The Case of The Architecture Competition," 395.

"ground." Given this focus, a brief discussion of vocabulary is appropriate. *Ground* is a loaded term that invokes physical materiality and topographic form, as well as numerous conceptual and ideological implications. Its relationship to other loaded terms like *landscape* and *territory* is paradoxically both obvious and undefined. Ultimately, the ideas denoted and connoted by these terms are not singular or fixed. Rather, their meanings are determined through context and usage. For this reason, it is productive to identify the multiple manifestations of "ground" that exist within this study.

Chapter Two uses the life and career of Frank Kidder—an engineer turned architect—as a framework for discussing both the fluidity of professional boundaries and the codification of expert knowledge. Such a discussion highlights a specific ground practice situated at the blurred boundary between architecture and civil engineering: foundation design. Following an in-depth discussion of evolving educational models, this chapter compares the professional handbook compiled by Kidder with a similar handbook conceived by John C. Trautwine, a well-known civil engineer. As these two publications illustrate, both architects and engineers viewed foundation design as a part of their own respective disciplines. However, this overlap does not suggest a climate of antagonistic competition so much as it reflects the mutability of boundaries and distinctions between nineteenth-century architects and engineers.

In Chapter Three, an overview of the American country house and garden typology highlights the emerging discourses on site planning and garden design. Among the issues explored in relation to site planning are the appropriate proportional area of building footprint to lot size and the proper degree of responsiveness to existing site conditions. The discussion of garden design, on the other hand, is primarily focused on the debate between the wild and formal styles. Although this chapter references the professionalization of landscape architects, a more

significant jurisdictional dynamic is the opposition between design professionals and untrained laymen. Since the ground practices addressed in this chapter are situated within the American countryside, concerns for public safety could not be used to legitimize the authority of professional architects and landscape architects. Instead, these professionals relied upon their design expertise to justify their jurisdiction over country houses and gardens. The internal discourses and debates on site planning and garden styles within professional journals played a key role in establishing this expertise.

Chapter Four recounts the redesign of Washington, D.C.'s ceremonial core, highlighting the potential for ground to reflect democratic values and national identity. The key dynamic within this chapter is a jurisdictional confrontation between the American Institute of Architects and the Army Corp of Engineers over the design of the National Mall. After the architects won the commission, a disagreement on the proper setback for the Department of Agriculture building revealed the competing conceptions of ground within the fields of architecture and engineering. Whereas the architects prioritized the aesthetic effect produced by the Mall, the engineers viewed the project in functional terms. This difference signals the diverging trajectories of these two professions at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Chapter Five explores the role of ground within landscape architecture's professional development. Whereas nineteenth-century practitioners of landscape gardening primarily designed naturalistic parks and private estates, twentieth-century figures sought to shift the profession's focus to the urban ground. Synthesizing architecture's aesthetic monumentality and engineering's functionalism, landscape architects like Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. advocated for the City Practical. Through educational curricula and professional publications, Olmsted, Jr. and other leading practitioners defined their profession's identity around the layout of streets, the

subdivision of land into salable lots, and the organization of urban park systems. Ultimately, this reorientation of the profession allowed landscape architects to overtake architects and engineers in the area of city planning.

Finally, Chapter Six looks beyond the limited timeframe of the previous chapters to examine the ways in which professional individuation shaped conceptions of ground within each of the four design professions. For city planners, the ground became a central focus for legislation, including zoning restrictions, property setbacks, easements, and eminent domain. On the whole, these policies developed by professional planners emphasized quantifiable data and restrictive codes rather than design-oriented speculation or qualitative outcomes. Meanwhile, civil engineers continued to view ground through the lens of function and efficiency. Working in remote locales, such as the Tennessee Valley and the Hetch Hetchy Canyon, they used modern technologies to transform natural landscapes into massive infrastructural projects. Architects and landscape architects, on the other hand, began to see their expert opinions go unheeded in matters of city planning and infrastructural production. As a result, these disciplines turned inward, developing their own versions of modern practice that decoupled architecture from landscape. Whereas the previous generation of practitioners championed a unity between building and ground, professional individuation made such a goal impracticable during the interwar period.

As this brief overview illustrates, the discourse on ground encompasses a wide range of design practices: surveying, foundation design, site planning, street layout, garden design, zoning, city planning, park design, and infrastructural production, among others. In addition to the material, formal, and stylistic concomitants, these various ground practices are also accompanied by a slew of conceptual questions. For instance, should a street grid be designed for

aesthetic effect or functional efficiency? To what degree should a country house respond to the existing qualities of its site? Within urban contexts, the conceptual issues connected to ground tend to be political and social in nature. On the other hand, rural and suburban contexts offer the opportunity for design professionals to engage aesthetic or disciplinary polemics. This study parses the parallel discourses on ground that emerged during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in order to analyze the development of jurisdictional dynamics among the American design professions.

1.5 Frames and Frameworks

1.5.1 Evidence

Within each of the five chapters outlined above, my historical analysis of specific design discourses and practices is constructed through the integration of historical records (i.e. census reports, university catalogues, legislative documents, etc.), conference proceedings, professional publications, newspaper articles, and existing histories. Among the journals referenced most frequently are *Architectural Record*, *Brickbuilder*, *Garden & Forest Magazine*, *The City Plan, Landscape Architecture Magazine*, and *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*. In addition to these periodicals, consideration is given to handbooks, treatises, and manuals of practice. For instance, publications like Frank Kidder's *The Architects' and Builders' Handbook* and John Trautwine's *Civil Engineer's Pocket-Book* reveal the ways in which expert knowledge was codified and distributed across the design disciplines. By investigating both the content and utility of these texts, this study demonstrates how knowledge itself was shaped and reformatted in response to jurisdictional dynamics.

1.5.2 The American Frame

By limiting the geographical scope of this research to the United States, I aim to situate my analysis of jurisdictional competition within a specific political, technological, and economic context. As the following chapters illustrate, the design professions did not compete in a vacuum. Instead, individual jurisdictional disputes were directly influenced by large-scale transformations within American society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In addition to this concern for historiographical contextualization, my geographical framing is appropriate because the socio-economic implications of professionalism align with American culture more so than other (especially European) contexts. Magali Sarfatti Larson discussed this idea in the introductory chapter of *The Rise of Professionalism*.

> In the United States, in particular, the model of profession has acquired a singular social import…The extension of professionalization reflects, among other things, the particular openness of the American university to new fields of learning and the widespread access to higher education in American society. Basing occupational entry on university credentials does not lead, in other words, to excessive social exclusiveness. Furthermore, professions are typical occupations of the middle class, and the vision of American society and culture as being essentially "middle class" is not challenged as strongly as it is in Europe by the alternative and autonomous vision of a politicized working class.[15]

In this sense, the fact that professions function as meritocracies—rewarding those individuals who demonstrate ability and skill—resonated with Americans who sought (consciously or not) to distinguish themselves from the aristocratic culture of Europe.

While I believe that there are strong justifications for this American frame, I also acknowledge that there are many limitations to nationalist histories. As Daniel Rodgers pointed out in his study, *Atlantic Crossing: Social Politics in a Progressive Age*, many American social reformers and intellectuals of this period—architects and city planners among them—were strongly influenced by European ideas about politics, economics, and urbanization. The inverse

[15] Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism*, xviii.

was also true. European manufacturers often tried to adopt American production techniques, especially in regards to standardization and mass production. For this reason, my primary focus on the United States occasionally flexes to accommodate the complex interconnections that existed between and among nations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These transatlantic exchanges notwithstanding, the larger point holds true that American professionalization occurred independent of older European traditions. It was not the case that professionalism was imported from England or continental Europe in the form of the "gentleman architect." Instead, professionalization within the American construction industry arose in response to immediate social, technological, and infrastructural challenges.

Even within the American frame, my focus can be furthered defined. One of this study's overarching arguments is that the intertwined forces of industrialization and urbanization propelled professional development. And, since urbanization occurred most rapidly in the Northeastern United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, much of my research concerns people, institutions, and events situated in and around Northeastern cities like Boston and New York. Urban centers in other regions, such as the American South and West, feature less prominently, because they developed after professional boundaries had more or less solidified. Nevertheless, Chapter Five includes commentary on Los Angeles, where a unique blend of cultural and environmental factors influenced a jurisdictional confrontation between landscape architects and civil engineers. With such an exception, the geographical focus of this study primarily remains in the Northeastern region of the United States.

1.5.3 Structure and Agency

Although this study analyzes the system of American professions, effort has been taken to construct this history with a methodology that privileges personalization and contextualization

over generalization and abstraction. Reflecting on the complex problems inherent in historicizing professional development, Andrew Abbott emphasized the ways in which "human actions are simultaneously determined and chosen."[16] According to Abbott, historians of professions must find a way "to allow each side free play, neither romanticizing freedom nor worshiping determinism."[17] In crafting my own balance, I aim to highlight the reciprocity between individual professionals and the structural frameworks—political, institutional, economic, and so on—that order society.[18] Instead of reducing practitioners to passive subjects, directed by forces completely beyond their control, this approach accounts for both the large-scale transformations that shaped professional practice *and* the ways in which individual social actors accepted, challenged, or subverted these developments. Nonetheless, this study does not aspire to identify the motives of individuals, since such a project would require more extensive archival research. Rather, the characters are intended to illustrate how the abstract dynamics among professions played out in specific, personal ways. The primary findings presented here are the discipline-specific discourses on ground that emerged in parallel during the early twentieth century.

1.5.4 Limitations

The framing of any research project imposes certain limitations that obscures some dynamics in order to foreground others. As noted above, this study is constrained both

[16] Abbott, 321.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Such an approach has correlations with Pierre Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, as well as Thomas P. Hughes' theory of *momentum*. As a historian of technology, Hughes developed this theoretical model as a synthesis of technological determinism and social constructivism. He writes: "A technological system can be both a cause and an effect; it can shape or be shaped by society. As they grow larger and more complex, systems tend to be more shaping of society and less shaped by it. Therefore, the momentum of technological systems is a concept that can located somewhere between the poles of technical determinism and social constructivism. The social constructivists have a key to understanding the behavior of young systems; technical determinists come into their own with mature ones. Technical momentum, however, provides a more flexible mode of interpretation and one that is in accord with the history of large systems." Thomas P. Hughes, "Technological Momentum," in *Does Technology Drive History?: The Dilemma of Technological Determinism*, ed. Merritt Roe Smith and Leo Marx (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), 112.

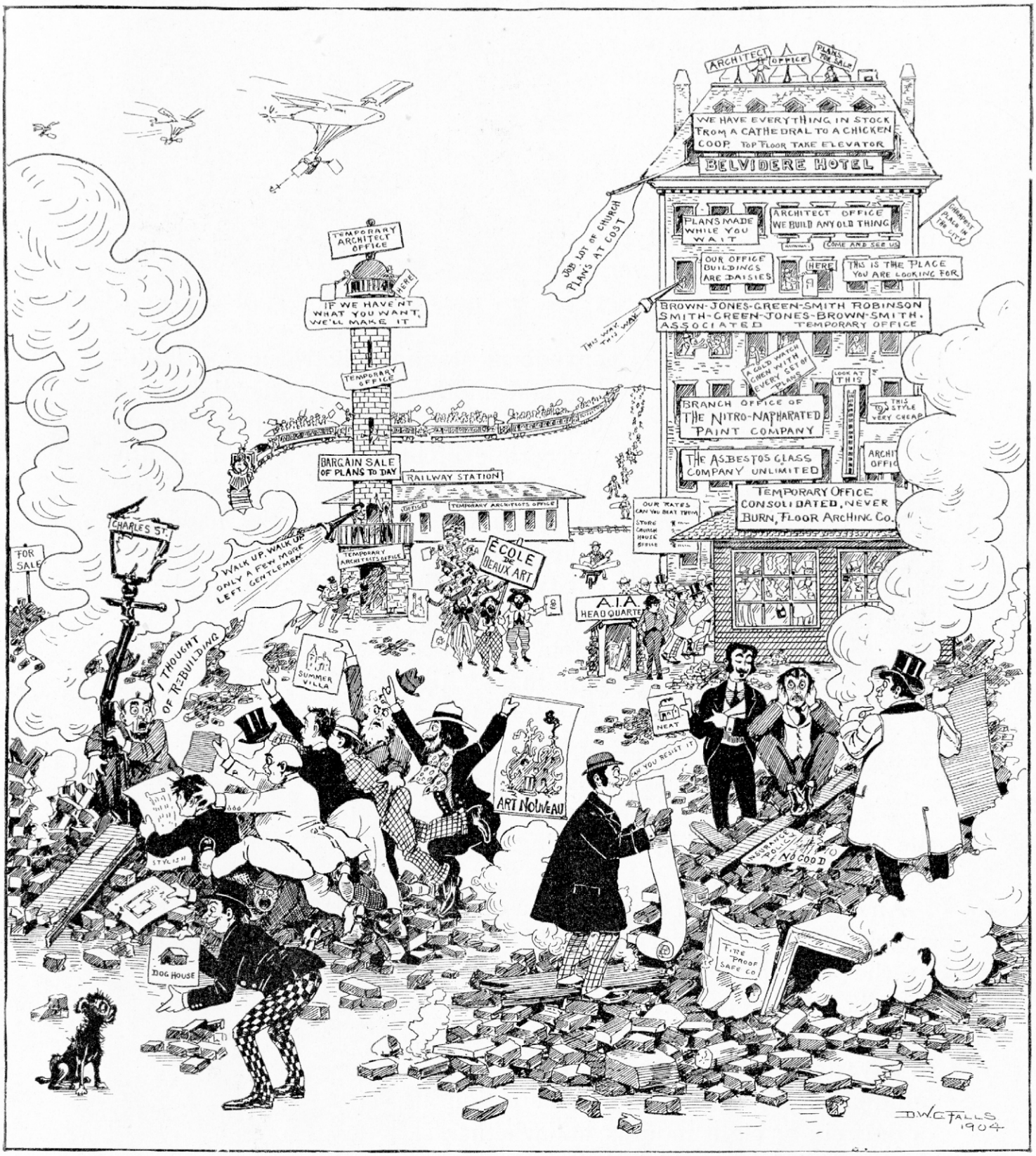
geographically (to the United States) and chronologically (to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries). Even within this frame, there are certain dynamics of architectural and urban production that are not considered here. For instance, little is said about the internal working dynamics of individual professions. By focusing on jurisdictional confrontations between professional bodies, I have not fully addressed the complex interrelations that exist between, say, architects and draftsmen, or between engineers and surveyors. Nor have I fully considered the dynamics that unfold on the construction site between design professionals and the contractors, craftsmen, and manual laborers who facilitate the translation from drawing to building. These parallel histories have been addressed by other scholars and their exclusion here is intended to tighten the focus of my analysis.[19]

Perhaps the most unfortunate consequence of framing my research around professions is that the historical narrative inevitably foregrounds the activities of elites, while allowing only limited consideration for marginalized populations. Mechanisms of exclusion within the professions, as well as the social dynamics of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, contribute to this problematic condition. Beneath and alongside my narrative of professional jurisdiction are complex stories about class, race, and gender in the United States. The fact that these stories are not fully represented here is a shortcoming that I readily acknowledge. Nonetheless, by reflecting upon the foundational concepts of professional power and jurisdictional competition, this study aims to open the discourse up to future considerations of other socio-cultural dynamics within and among the American design professions.

[19] For instance, see George B. Johnston, *Drafting Culture: A Social History of Architectural Graphic Standards* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), George B. Johnston, "General Contractors and Architects' Distance from Labor," in *Shaping New Knowledges: Proceedings of the 104th ACSA Annual Meeting,* ed. Robert Corser and Sharon Haar (2016), and Mary Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999).

1.5.5 Guiding Questions

Each of the five chapters that comprise the body of this study focuses on a particular dynamic within the system of professions. These historical episodes range in scale, setting, and duration. Taken collectively, they suggest a transformation within and among the design professions, one that has correlations with larger socio-cultural, technological, and political transformations in the United States. While it is clear that an ensemble of distinct professionals eventually replaced the all-encompassing Vitruvian Architect, a number of challenging questions remain. Were the professions of landscape architecture and city planning formed around a completely new array of skills and specialized knowledge? Or did these new professions overtake areas of expertise that had traditionally existed within the realms of architecture and civil engineering? What role did education play in solidifying or blurring boundaries between the design disciplines? What does architectural and urban production during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveal about the status of professional knowledge? Finally, within this context of professional individuation, who took on the responsibility of designing the ground? These questions guide my analysis and direct attention in the following chapters to the critical linkages between professions and their work.



[Fig. 1.1] "The Professional Invasion of Baltimore." *Architectural Record* 15, no. 5 (May 1904): 483.

CHAPTER 2. FOUNDATIONS

During the late nineteenth century, American architectural practice underwent a dramatic transformation. Technological innovations like steel I-beams, indoor plumbing, and reinforced concrete made building construction an increasingly specialized and complex enterprise. The emergence of tall buildings in densely populated areas made it significantly more dangerous as well. Within this context, many Americans began to recognize the need for architecture and engineering to join the ranks of older professions like medicine and law. Organized around designated areas of expertise, professions offer the promise of regulation and ethics among chaos and incompetence. Yet, the emergence of these new professions in the United States brought just as many challenges as solutions. As the industrial city began to take shape, architects and engineers had to grapple with difficult questions about the future of practice. Should a professional education be acquired by students in a university or by apprentices in an office? How should expertise be divided among competing professions? Finally, what are the foundational skills and knowledge sets required for each respective discipline? These questions were hotly contested, prompting many architects and engineers to stake out their own positions within the discourse.

Frank Eugene Kidder, an aspiring architect from Bangor, Maine, played a key role in defining the boundary between architects and engineers through his collection, organization, and dissemination of technical knowledge. His publication, *The Architect's and Builder's Handbook,* was intended to be a comprehensive compilation of facts and statistics regarding construction techniques, building materials, and modes of practice. Read against the backdrop of social and technological transformation, however, Kidder's geometric diagrams, structural load charts, and

short essays offer a unique portrait of the profession that highlights the ways in which architects viewed their work, their materials, and their competitors. This chapter follows the life and career of Frank Kidder in order to tell a larger story about the slippage between American architectural and engineering practice during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

As architecture and engineering transitioned from hands-on training and "shop culture" to university education and "laboratory culture" in the late nineteenth century, the nature of professional knowledge itself was transformed. More specifically, professionals began to define their expertise around knowledge sets that could be codified within textbooks, taught in classrooms, and tested on licensure exams. This phenomenon is illustrated here through a comparison of Frank Kidder's *The Architects' and Builders' Handbook* and John C. Trautwine's *The Civil Engineers' Pocket-book*. Although the professional boundary between architects and engineers remained in flux during the nineteenth century, the codification of expert knowledge made certain jurisdictional overlaps apparent. This chapter highlights the overlapping discussions of foundation design within the professional handbooks compiled separately by Kidder and Trautwine. Rather than contentious competition, however, these overlapping territories between architecture and engineering reflect a fluid relationship between the two allied professions. As the example of Frank Kidder illustrates, nineteenth-century practitioners were able to cross and re-cross professional boundaries in ways that would not be possible in the future.

2.1 Growing Up in Bangor

As rapid urbanization and technological innovation reshaped the patterns of American life during the late nineteenth century, previously isolated communities were integrated into an

ever-increasing network of connections.[20] Consequently, children who grew up in the second half of the nineteenth century often led remarkably different lives than their parents. Frank Eugene Kidder, born November 3, 1859, belonged to this new generation of Americans. Kidder's father, Bradley, worked as a carpenter, a painter, and a tanner before saving enough money to open his own meat market (Figure 2.1).[21] He settled with his wife, Victoria, in Bangor, Maine, a bustling lumber port roughly 120 miles northeast of Portland.[22] It was there that the couple welcomed the birth of their first child, Frank Eugene.[23]

Although the Kidders had not come from particularly wealthy families, Bradley's meat market business earned them a respectable place within the community. They lived east of downtown on a quiet cut-through street populated by only four houses. It was a racially homogeneous neighborhood that also cultivated a gender dynamic typical of nineteenth-century America.[24] The men on their street were bookkeepers, mariners, stable managers, and entrepreneurs. The census records state that the women stayed home and "kept house."

[20] For a more detailed account of this transformation of American society see Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001).

[21] Prior to marrying Victoria Isabel Addition, Bradley owned a partial stake in an ice business. For a much more detailed account of his life, see Frank Eugene Kidder and S.B. Kidder, *A History of the Kidder Family from A.D. 1320 to 1676* (Allston, MA: F.E. Kidder, 1886), 139 - 140.

[22] While boarding at a house in Manchester, Bradley fell in love with the owner's daughter, Victoria Isabel Addition. They married in the summer of 1858 and moved to Bangor to start a family. Having sold his stake in the ice business, Bradley worked for a while as a carpenter on a tannery that was under construction. With the building nearing completion and their first child on the way, he took a job in the tannery earning a dollar per day. Victoria Isabel gave birth to their first child, Frank Eugene, in the winter of 1959. Bradley continued working in the tannery for another four years before acquiring a job in a local butcher shop that paid a salary of fifty dollars per month. After the birth of their second child, Nellie Adelaide, in 1865, Bradley used the family's savings to open his own meat market in downtown Bangor. He ran this market with a partner for the next sixteen years, using some of their profits to invest in nearby farmlands. For more biographical information, see Frank Eugene Kidder and S.B. Kidder, *A History of the Kidder Family from A.D. 1320 to 1676*, 139 - 140.

[23] My description of Frank Kidder's parents and childhood were primarily constructed from three sources: F. E. Kidder and S.B. Kidder, *A History of the Kidder Family from A.D. 1320 to 1676*; official census records; and a biography (written by Katherine E. Kidder) that was included in the posthumous publication of F.E. Kidder, *Building Construction and Superintendence, Part III* (New York: William T. Comstock, 1910), 5 - 7.

[24] The 1880 census states that the Kidders lived at 6 Hayward Street Bangor, Maine 04401. All four families on this street identified as "white" according to the census records. There were no servants listed for any of the houses on Hayward Street. 1880 United States Census, Bangor Township, Penobscot County, Maine; dwelling 430, family 452, lines 24-29.

Nonetheless, Victoria Kidder found ways to exert her influence outside of the home, holding various offices in Ladies' Societies connected with the Methodist Church.[25]

During the late nineteenth century, Bangor was the lumber capital of the United States (Figure 2.2). Some estimates put the number of sawmills in the area close to 400.[26] Although the Kidders had no direct connection to lumber, it played a large role in shaping their greater surroundings. The town's richest citizens were lumber barons, most of whom lived a block north of the Kidders on Union Street in large Greek Revival and Victorian houses filled with extravagant furnishings and live-in servants.[27]

Like other residents of Bangor, the Kidders witnessed first-hand the interdependence of nature and industry. The forests of Bangor were *not* the woods of Walden that Henry David Thoreau had described only a couple of decades earlier. Instead, Bangor's trees were owned by capitalists who hired teams of men to chop them down at staggering rates. Once the logs were transported to nearby mills, water-powered saws were used to produce lumber in standardized dimensions. In this sense, Bangor's primary industry harnessed one natural resource (water) to transform another resource (trees) into an industrial product (lumber). For the residents of Bangor, simplistic dichotomies between natural and industrial systems bore little resemblance to the realities of daily life.[28]

Bangor's lumber industry did more than dispel romantic notions of wilderness. It also revealed a complex market system that stretched far beyond the regional horizon. The sawmills of Bangor did not merely produce lumber for the state of Maine. Rather, the lumber was exported to major American cities like Boston and New York, as well as to the Caribbean.

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[25] F. E. Kidder and S.B. Kidder, *A History of the Kidder Family from A.D. 1320 to 1676,* 141.
[26] Richard George Wood, *A History of Lumbering in Maine 1820-1861* (Orono, ME: University of Maine Press, 1971), 36.
[27] 1880 United States Census, Bangor Township, Penobscot County, Maine.
[28] My interest in this interdependence of natural and cultural systems was first sparked by William Cronon's remarkable analysis in *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991).

During the California Gold Rush, lumber from Bangor was even shipped to the other side of the country. This expansive trade network awakened citizens of Bangor to the existing interconnections between rural America and metropolitan centers on both the east and west coasts. Thus, growing up around Bangor's lumber industry not only shaped Frank Kidder's conceptualization of nature, it also opened his eyes to opportunities outside of his hometown that were well within his reach.[29]

At the age of fifteen, Kidder set his sights on becoming an architect.[30] It was an ambition that would have been nearly impossible for his father to imagine at that age. And even though the path to becoming a professional architect was still undefined in the late nineteenth century, Kidder rode the wave of social change that would eventually carry him far beyond his hometown.

2.2 College Education

The Morrill Act of 1862 made higher education much more accessible by granting land scrips to individual states for the purpose of funding agricultural and mechanical colleges. However, architecture was rarely a course of study at either these new land-grant colleges or the older, more prestigious universities. As Frank Kidder approached college age (fifteen) in 1875, only Cornell and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology offered degree programs in architecture. So, Kidder did what many aspiring architects of his generation did—he enrolled at his state's land-grant college in the degree program most closely associated with architecture: civil engineering.

[29] Wood, *A History of Lumbering in Maine 1820-1861*, 221.
[30] F.E. Kidder, *Building Construction and Superintendence, Part III* (New York: William T. Comstock, 1910), 5.

Located only ten miles north of the Kidder family house, Maine State College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts (now the University of Maine) accepted its first class of students in 1868 (Figure 2.3). The trustees' goal for the college was clearly articulated: "to give the young men of the State who may desire it, at a moderate cost, the advantages of a thorough, liberal and practical education."[31] To this end, tuition was free to all Maine residents (twelve dollars per year for out-of-state students) and boarding cost each student only three dollars per week. In addition to their studies, students were expected to work on the college grounds for a couple of hours each day in order to acquire technical skills and develop a strong work ethic.[32]

Despite the agricultural and mechanical focus of the college (a stipulation of the Morrill Act), the curriculum was "designed that it shall be also sufficiently comprehensive, and of such a character as to secure to the student the discipline of mind and practical experience necessary for entering upon other callings or professions."[33] At first, there was only one course of study at Maine State, which resulted in the degree of Bachelor of Science. However, by the time Frank Kidder entered in the fall of 1875, the college offered full courses in Agriculture, Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, and Chemistry, as well as an Elective Course that pulled from several different disciplines.

Kidder's freshman class of 1875 was the largest since the institution's founding. Altogether, thirty-five students (thirty-two male, three female) began their studies at Maine State that year. Kidder was one of five students coming from nearby Bangor. The entire faculty consisted of only eight full-time professors, several of whom also fulfilled other administrative

[31] *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Maine State College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts, Orono, Maine, 1875 - 1876* (Bangor: Burr & Robinson, 1875), 10.
[32] Ibid., 18.
[33] Ibid., 10.

roles at the college. For instance, the two engineering faculty members, William A. Pike and George H. Hamlin, served as the institution's secretary and librarian, respectively.[34]

The campus was divided into eastern and western halves upon the suggestion of the acclaimed landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, who visited the site during the winter of 1866. Olmsted's report notes that the flat lands of the eastern half would be ideal for demonstrating agricultural machinery, including reapers and ploughs.[35] The western side, by contrast, offered a more undulating, hilly landscape. Embedded within this simple division is an conceptual framework that allows one to distinguish between those grounds that play a productive role in agricultural economies and those that function on the socio-cultural level as democratizing and moralizing sources of natural purity. Kidder's civil engineering courses were held in Wingate Hall, a three-story wooden structure on the western (hilly) edge of campus.[36]

All five courses of study offered at Maine State began with two years of common education.[37] During his first year, Kidder took courses in physical geography, meteorology, algebra, physics, botany, geometry and book-keeping. His second year of study was comprised of courses in trigonometry, chemistry, free-hand drawing, mechanical cultivation of the soil, surveying, English literature, and mechanical drawing. Within both the common curriculum and the individual degree programs, a heavy emphasis was placed on merging theory with practice.[38] The trustees went to great lengths to secure various instruments and apparatus that would allow the students to apply their newly acquired knowledge "in the field."[39]

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[34] Ibid., 4.
[35] *Trustees' Annual Report of the State College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts*, Forty-Sixth Legislature, Maine State House of Representatives, no. 57 (1867), 15.
[36] Originally known as White Hall, the building was renamed to honor the contributions of W.P. Wingate, an original trustee for the college and the long-time street commission for the city of Bangor.
[37] When Kidder began his studies in 1875, the curriculum was organized around a three-term system. However, the trustees voted to move to a two-term system in 1876, so that the students would be able to earn wages during the harvest season.
[38] Merritt Caldwell Fernald, *History of the Maine State College and the University of Maine* (Orono, ME: University of Maine Press, 1916), 35.
[39] *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Maine State College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts*, *1875 - 1876,* 19.

When Kidder was a sophomore at Maine State College, he began writing for local newspapers on topics as varied as agriculture, education, and history. His essays on "Book-keeping for Farmers" and "Benefits of Inventions to Our Farmers" pulled directly from his first year studies. During the winter of 1876, he taught at a primary school just outside of Bangor.[40] Having completed two years of his college education, Kidder positioned himself as an intellectual within his hometown community. And even though he was still several months shy of his eighteenth birthday, this positioning was not unwarranted. Thanks to the land-grant institutions established by the Morrill Act, higher education had become a vehicle for the advancement of the American middle class. Suddenly, small-town kids like Frank Kidder were launched into the intellectual realm previously dominated by wealthy elites. For the participants of this new educational experiment, it must have been an exhilarating moment of paramount opportunity.

After completing the two-year common curriculum, Kidder was finally able to focus on courses within his degree program: civil engineering. Yet, these more specialized courses were still a far cry from his original interest in architectural design. Fortunately, the college decided to introduce an additional resource to the library's reading room that could nourish Kidder's architectural aspirations. In the fall of 1877, it was announced that the college had purchased a subscription to *American Architect and Builder,* a new periodical that covered all aspects of architectural practice.[41] One might picture Kidder sitting in the reading room with these freshly printed periodicals in hand, longing for the professional world that he would one day encounter.

The civil engineering curriculum at Maine State College was organized around a collection of foundational texts. In the fall term of their junior year, civil engineering students

[40] F. E. Kidder and S.B. Kidder, *A History of the Kidder Family from A.D. 1320 to 1676,* 152.
[41] *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Maine State College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts*, *1877 - 1878* (Bangor: Burr & Robinson, 1878), 18.

read John B. Henck's 1871 publication, *Field-Book for Railroad Engineers*. In the spring, they studied Samuel Edward Warren's *Elements of Descriptive Geometry*. However, the civil engineering faculty relied on one text more than all others in organizing the degree program: William John Macquorn Rankine's *A Manual for Civil Engineering*. Rankine was a leading Scottish engineer, who made significant contributions to theoretical understandings of steam engines, thermodynamics, and shipbuilding (Figure 2.4). At Maine State, his treatise on civil engineering was studied over the course of three terms during the junior and senior years.[42]

In addition to the texts by Henck, Warren, and Rankine, there was another publication not listed in the course catalog that made a strong impression on Frank Kidder. At some point during his college years, Kidder acquired a copy of *The Civil Engineer's Pocket-book*, compiled by John C. Trautwine (Figure 2.5).[43] Within the pages of this expansive text, Trautwine outlined technical knowledge related to all aspects of building construction in great detail. Impressed by this engineering publication, Kidder would eventually produce a similar handbook for architects. However, many more educational and professional experiences would intervene before he was ready for such a task.[44]

Despite Kidder's affinity for the technical aspects of civil engineering, he had an affinity for architectural design that could not be satisfied by reading the latest issues of *American Architect and Building News* in the college library. So, he arranged for himself to spend the first two terms of his senior year at Cornell, studying alongside the third year architecture students. It was there, in the serene landscape of Ithaca, New York, that Kidder would get his first opportunity to pursue design.[45]

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[42] Ibid., 15.
[43] Trautwine's son, John C. Trautwine, Jr., was also instrumental in the publication and subsequent revision of *The Civil Engineers' Pocket-Book.*
[44] Kidder, *Building Construction and Superintendence, Part III*, 6.
[45] Ibid., 5.

Like Maine State College, Cornell University benefited from the Morrill Act of 1862. The architectural program at Cornell was established in 1871 with Charles Babcock serving as its first director (Figure 2.6).[46] Babcock trained in the office of Richard Upjohn, where he gained an appreciation for medievalism and architectural craft.[47] As Mary Woods noted, "a basic pragmatism lay at the core of Babcock's curriculum," which would have felt quite familiar to Kidder coming from Maine State College.[48] The design courses emphasized the art of construction and students were often required to visit construction sites as part of their architectural education.[49]

Kidder's class schedule at Cornell included technical studies in mechanics and heat, as well as a course on perspectival drawing and shading. There was also a series of lectures on Egyptian, Greek, and Roman architecture, likely delivered by Babcock himself. However, the course that would have been the most exotic to Kidder was the design studio. At Cornell, architecture students did not take design in their first two years. So, this studio was a new experience for both Kidder and his third-year classmates. The second term followed the basic structure of the first, with studies in technical subjects like lithology, optics, and acoustics, as well as lectures on Byzantine and Romanesque architecture. And, of course, a second design studio was offered so that students could apply what they had learned from the previous term.[50]

Kidder returned to Maine State College in spring of 1879 to complete the final term of his degree program in civil engineering. He took courses in machine drawing, mineralogy and geology, and part three of Rankine's *Manual of Civil Engineering*. It must have been satisfying to earn a college degree—something no one in his family had ever done—but, at the same time,

[46] Babcock was the only instructor of architecture during the time that Kidder studied at Cornell.
[47] Mary Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 70.
[48] Ibid., 70.
[49] Ibid., 70.
[50] *The Cornell University Register, 1878 - 1879* (Ithica, NY, 1879), 98.

Kidder's final semester at Maine State College must have been somewhat anti-climatic for an aspiring architect who had just a few months ago immersed himself in the thriving design culture of Cornell's architecture program.

The commencement ceremony was held in the summer of 1879. As part of the day's exercises, Kidder delivered a lecture on Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Middle Ages, a subject that he almost certainly heard Charles Babcock lecture on at Cornell.[51] Kidder stayed at Maine State College for the fall of 1879, serving as an instructor of drawing and field engineering. He celebrated his twentieth birthday in November by mailing his first technical paper to *American Architect*.[52] However, with architectural ambitions still occupying his mind, Kidder set his sights on the next phase of his professional development. Trading Bangor for Boston, he prepared himself to enter an office run by two of the most renowned architects in the United States.

2.3 Office Training

While the Morrill Act of 1862 greatly increased the accessibility of university education, architectural training remained primarily the responsibility of the profession during the late nineteenth century.[53] Such training was most often administered by an established architect within a private architectural office. Frank Kidder got his first taste of office training in Boston when he entered the firm of Ware & Van Brunt as a student in 1879 (Figure 2.7). For a middle-class kid from Bangor, it must have been a dream come true.

[51] "Maine State College," *Bangor Daily Whig + Courier,* Bangor, ME, June 26, 1879.
[52] F. E. Kidder and S.B. Kidder, *A History of the Kidder Family from A.D. 1320 to 1676,* 153.
[53] For a more detailed account of architectural education and office training, see Mary Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 53 - 81; Arthur C. Weatherhead, *The History of Collegiate Education in Architecture in the United States* (Los Angeles, 1941); Joan Ockman, ed., *Architecture School: Three Centuries of Educating Architects in North America* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012); and Joan Draper, "The École des Beaux-Arts and the Architectural Profession in the United States: The case of John Galen Howard," in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostof (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 209 - 237.

Unlike Kidder, William Robert Ware and Henry Van Brunt came from prestigious, New England families. They both attended Harvard, studying within the Lawrence Scientific School, before working in the office of the acclaimed New York architect, Richard Morris Hunt (Figure 2.8). As the first American to study at the École des Beaux-Arts, Hunt's method of office training was quite different from other architects of his era. Rather than having students work as employees on active projects, he sought to replicate the studio environment of the Paris ateliers. Ware and Van Brunt paid a fee in order to study in Hunt's office and receive his design critiques. Ultimately, it was Hunt's commentary that largely shaped their stylistic and aesthetic predilections. In 1864, the pair established their firm, Ware & Van Brunt, in Boston and began accepting students of their own.[54]

Although Frank Kidder studied in the office of Ware & Van Brunt for only a few months, it was a pivotal moment for him. For the first time in his life, Kidder was able to experience the profession as an insider. Surrounded by a group of like-minded individuals, Kidder could engage in stylistic debates and office camaraderie. But it was also an exciting time because Kidder received some good news during the winter of 1879. *American Architect* had decided to publish his first technical paper, "Strength of Columns," in their December issue. For the young aspiring architect, this news validated his interest in the scientific aspects of architecture and set him on a career trajectory that would eventually cause him to cross paths with William Robert Ware again several years later at MIT.

In 1880, Kidder moved to Brooklyn, New York to work in the architectural office of H.J. Hardenburg. Like Ware and Van Brunt, Hardenburg also came from a well-known family. After apprenticing under the German-American architect, Detlef Lienau, he established his own

[54] Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 63.

practice and gained several desirable commissions through his family connections.[55] In the same year that Kidder joined the office, Hardenburg secured a commission from the head of the Singer Sewing Machine Company to design the Dakota apartments (Figure 2.9).[56] While training in H.J. Hardenburg's office, Kidder continued to write scientific articles, focusing primarily on the architectural properties of natural materials. In February of 1880, *Van Nostrand's Engineering Magazine* published his paper on the strength of pine, which drew directly upon his intimate knowledge of lumber.[57]

Kidder's interest in the technical aspects of building construction added confusion to the already murky question of professional identity. Although his degree from Maine State College was in civil engineering, Kidder's self-professed aspiration was to become an architect. After studying architecture for a year at Cornell, he was able to secure a position training in two of the most renowned architectural offices in the country. And yet, the 1880 census identifies him as a "civil engineer" boarding at 92 1st Place in Brooklyn.[58] Perhaps it was this ambiguity of professional identity that led Kidder to take the advice of a co-worker in Hardenbergh's office who recommended a special course in architecture at MIT.[59]

The architecture program at MIT was founded in 1868 by Kidder's previous mentor, William Robert Ware. In contrast to Charles Babcock's curriculum of pragmatism at Cornell, Ware's curriculum at MIT was aimed at producing mature, intellectual designers with a broad

[55] "H.J. Hardenbergh, Architect, is Dead," *New York Times*, March 14, 1918.
[56] Located in what is now known as the Upper West Side of Manhattan, this humongous structure originally stood alone in a sparsely developed landscape when it was completed in 1884. Its name underscores the importance of the American West within the popular imagination during the late nineteenth century.
[57] With the nation transforming more rapidly than ever before, many Americans had a difficult time reconciling their excitement for the nation's technological future and their nostalgia for the wildness of raw nature. Frank Kidder's familiarity with the Bangor lumber industry gave him a more sophisticated understanding of this relationship between technology and nature.
[58] 1880 United States Census, Brooklyn, Kings County, New York; dwelling 175.
[59] Kidder, *Building Construction and Superintendence, Part III*, 5. The co-worker who recommended the MIT program to Kidder was D.W. Willard, who later went on to practice in the firm of Babb, Cook, & Willard.

range of knowledge and skill.[60] To this end, students went through a rigorous liberal arts training before taking their first design studio. Mary Woods has hypothesized that Ware's pedagogical method was, in fact, a "synthesis of his own training—Harvard College, the Lawrence Scientific School, and Hunt's atelier—into a single university program."[61] However, Kidder did not enroll in the program as a traditional student. Instead, he joined in the "special course," which was specifically intended for draftsmen, who wanted to improve their skills and develop a broader understanding of architectural principles. As other scholars have noted, this co-education of draftsmen and aspiring architects at MIT reflected the hierarchical structure of architectural practice during the late nineteenth century.[62]

Throughout his time at MIT, Kidder continued to write and publish technical papers. Between 1880 and 1882, *Builder and Wood-Worker* published several of Kidder's papers on "The Mechanics of Architecture" and "The Stability of Structures." To a contemporary reader, the list of topics that Kidder discussed in his many articles may seem somewhat dry and unassuming: foundations in soft earths, foundations on piles, crushing strength of stones, stability of the arch, and so on. However, critical reflection upon the professional context in which Kidder was writing might suggest a more radical interpretation of his technically driven scholarship. With the boundaries between architecture and engineering not yet solidified, each

[60] There was much debate about the proper ways in which education should be divided between the schools and the profession. "Architectural Education," *Brickbuilder* 14, no. 8 (August 1905): 165. "There is a gap between the work of the architectural schools, which are training young men for the practice of their profession, and the ideals and desires of the architects, to whom later these young men will apply for situations. Many attempts have been made to bridge this separation and to bring the educational lines of the colleges more closely to the practical work of the profession. It is the constant complaint that a young man immediately after completing his architectural course is seldom of any commercial value...The architectural department of Harvard University is about to make an interesting experiment which will be closely watched during the ensuing year. A number of the leading Boston architects have agreed to lend their aid to the University, by each in turn, for a specified time, taking charge of the architectural work of the students, selecting the problem, assisting the men with criticisms and advice, and finally judging and grading the work...Columbia College also is aiming at somewhat the same results by applying to its course a modification of the Atelier system, under which the students are allowed to employ part of their time in office work under certain designated architectural firms, the University recognizing such work as a part of the student's regular education."

[61] Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 70.

[62] For instance, see George Barnett Johnston, "Drafting Manuals and Manual Training: Rouillion and Ramsey's 'Architectural Details,'" *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (May 2005), 42.

publication can be read as a jurisdictional claim. Over the next several years, Kidder dedicated himself to codifying of professional knowledge and staking out new territories for architecture. Drawing upon his diverse range of educational and practical experiences, he began working on a publication project that would remain influential for many generations to come.

2.4 Architects' and Builders' Handbook

Architects have traditionally been characterized as generalists, practical scholars who must master a wide range of knowledge and skills. As the nineteenth-century architectural critic, Russell Sturgis, once put it, "an architect should know more of any subject than anyone else."[63] Certainly, Vitruvius' famous treatise on architecture illustrates this ambition.[64] However, the multiplicity of new building materials and construction technologies that emerged during the age of industrialization made the architect's task increasingly complex and burdensome. Within this context, the idealized Vitruvian Architect began to seem unrealistic for critics and practitioners alike.[65] A.D.F. Hamilton summarized this general sentiment in his historical recapitulation of American architecture from 1891 to 1916:

> The requirements laid upon the architect have enormously increased the complexity of his task, and the struggle of competition has become intense beyond the limits of a generous and enthusiastic emulation. The commercializing of large building operations has raised new and often embarrassing problems of professional ethics and practice.[66]

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[63] "Review: Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture, Translated by Morris H. Morgan," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 3, no. 1 (January 1915): 29.

[64] While Vitruvius was likely a civil engineer himself, architects have collectively adopted his treatise, *De Architectura,* as the foundational text for their discipline. So, in this sense, the larger point remains true: architects have historically sought to frame their work as an all-encompassing enterprise, rather than the narrow field of building design.

[65] For American manufacturers, the answer to the ever-increasing complexity of industrial production was *specialization*. By systematically dividing the production process into a series of discrete tasks, these manufacturers were able to optimize the efficiency of the entire enterprise. Yet, this trend towards specialization was never wholeheartedly embraced by architects of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In fact, many viewed specialization as a threat to the unity and coherence of the profession. "The Duty of Every Architect," *Brickbuilder* 14, no. 11 (November 1905): 241: "At no time in the history of American architectural effort has there been such an imperative call to architects for union of effort, for a development of true esprit de corps, as at present. As the burdens laid upon the profession have increased, as its duties have multiplied and broadened, as more has been demanded of the architect, the greater has been the need for the kind of professional solidarity which has obtained for so many years in the professions of law and medicine."

[66] A.D.F. Hamlin, "Twenty-Five Years of American Architecture," *Architectural Record* 40, no. 1 (July 1916): 2.

Since the increased complexity of building construction produced far too many facts and figures to consider at once, many argued that the architect's jurisdiction should be reduced. Yet, Frank Kidder had a different solution.

Given his ability to straddle the line between architecture and engineering, Kidder was in a unique position to respond to this crisis of architectural knowledge. By the early 1880s, he had established himself as an expert on the technical aspects of design and construction.[67] And ever since studying Trautwine's *Civil Engineer's Pocket-Book* as a student at Maine State College, Kidder envisioned a similar handbook for architects, containing all of the relevant mathematical tables, diagrams, and guidelines for practice.[68] So, rather than conceding jurisdiction over technical aspects of architectural practice, Kidder's solution was to codify them so that they could be easily stored and accessed. In essence, such a technical handbook would be an extension of the architect's brain. While he continued to work within the design and construction industries throughout the 1880s—first as a clerk and engineer for Norcross Bros. and then as head draughtsman for A.H. Vinal, who was appointed City Architect of Boston in 1884—Kidder devoted much of his time and energy to this new project: *The Architects' and Builders' Handbook*.[69]

Kidder initially approached James R. Osgood & Co. about publishing his handbook. However, not seeing the potential of his rough manuscript, the publisher decided to pass on the project. One observer described Kidder's initial offering as consisting "largely of clippings from

[67] With dozens of published articles in respected journals, Kidder found himself in high demand. The Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics' Association hired him in the fall of 1881 to oversee tests on fireproof materials. He also reached an agreement with MIT to deliver a course of two lectures per week to students of architecture during the 1882 term. And, on top of those responsibilities, Kidder accepted a job offer to work in the office of the Boston architect, A.H. Vinal. But Kidder was not only sought after by those within the design and construction industry. By the summer of 1882, he had also attracted the attention of a young woman, Kate Emery Newhall. The couple married in Kidder's hometown of Bangor in October and subsequently moved into to a house in Allston, Massachusetts.
[68] Frank Kidder, *Architects' and Builders' Handbook* 15th ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1908), vi.
[69] Kidder, *Building Construction and Superintendence, Part III*, 6.

trade-catalogues and circulars, illustrated with the crude wood-cuts of those days."[70] The same observer went on to recall his bewilderment that "a raw boy of twenty, who had just graduated from a small 'down East' college, should have the effrontery to think that anything he could compile or invent had the remotest chance of displacing the ever-useful '*Trautwine's Civil Engineer's Pocket-book*.'"[71] Nonetheless, Kidder did not give up on the project. He continued to refine his collection of materials and finally, at the age of 24, struck a deal with John C. Wiley & Sons to publish his architectural handbook.

The first edition of Kidder's *Architects' and Builders' Handbook* was published in January of 1885. Comprised of more than 500 pages, the handbook contains text and illustrations on a wide range of architectural topics. Among the specific items addressed are stability of piers and buttresses, flow of gas in pipes, ventilation of theatres, and scale of architects' charges. While countless architectural treatises and pattern books had come before, no publication rivaled Kidder's comprehensive body of information on modern construction practice.[72]

As Kidder's handbook illustrates, the distinctions between architectural and engineering expertise were somewhat ambiguous during the late nineteenth century. His own professional identity—or lack thereof—further reinforces this point. It is worth pointing out, however, that this blurred boundary between architecture and engineering was unique to the United States. In many European contexts, these two disciplines split off from one another far earlier. Writing about the development of architectural education at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, for instance, Magali Sarfatti Larson describes an entirely different situation:

[70] "Death of Frank E. Kidder, Architect and Author," *American Architect and Building News* 8, no. 1558 (November 4, 1905): 145.
[71] Ibid.
[72] More importantly, the country's most influential professional organization, the American Institute of Architects, would soon pass bylaws that supported Kidder's approach to architectural knowledge.

> If, through most of the nineteenth century, the École des Beaux-Arts resisted all attempts to reform and modernize its purely theoretical teaching, it is in part because the practical teaching of construction had already been preempted by the rival schools of engineering. Preferred by the state even before Napoleon I, the corps of engineers did not even need to defend themselves from the attacks waged against their "miserable aesthetics" by a large part of the architectural press.[73]

Of course, this European model did influence the American design professions, since many educational leaders in the United States—including William Robert Ware—had strong connections to the École des Beaux-Arts.[74] Yet, despite this influence, American architectural education remained connected to the pragmatic and populist agendas that had undergirded the American university system since its inception. As a result, those students and practitioners interested in the technical aspects of building design often found themselves straddling the line between the professions of architecture and engineering. Embedded within this dynamic of professional identity, however, was a fundamental transformation of professional knowledge, one that would have dramatic implications for the future of practice.

2.5 The Transformation of Expert Knowledge

As the nineteenth century progressed, design professionals increasingly came to rely upon codified, rather than tacit, forms of knowledge.[75] In their collaborative publication, *The New Production of Knowledge: The Dynamics of Science and Research in Contemporary Societies*, Michael Gibbons et al describe the difference between these two knowledge types:

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[73] Magali Sarfatti Larson, "Emblem and Exception," in *Professionals and Urban Form,* ed. J. Blau, M. La Gory, and J. Pipkin (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1983), 62. On the other hand, the European polytechnic schools often did include architectural theory as part of their instruction.

[74] As noted above, Ware studied in the atelier of Richard Morris Hunt, the first American to study at the École des Beaux-Arts. This training strongly influenced his approach to architectural education at both MIT and Columbia.

[75]The role of expert knowledge is central to this study's investigation of jurisdictional competition. In contemplating inter-professional dynamics among the design fields, a number of questions arise: What kind of knowledge is required for designing buildings, cities, and landscapes? Is this knowledge learned in school or in professional practice? Where is it stored? How is it communicated? Does this knowledge change or remain constant over time? These questions prompt deeper reflection on the status of knowledge and expertise within the American design professions.

> Codified knowledge need not be exclusively theoretical, but it needs to be systematic enough to be written down and stored, whether in a computer database, a university library or in a research report. As such, it is available to anyone who knows where to look. Tacit knowledge, by contrast, is not available as a text and may conveniently be regarded as residing in the heads of those working on a particular transformation process, or to be embodied in a particular organizational context.[76]

Within the design professions, codified knowledge can be acquired through university courses, stored in professional handbooks, and tested on licensure exams. However, tacit knowledge is better learned through practical, hands-on training.[77] The motivation for the shift from tacit to codified knowledge within architecture and engineering was partly pragmatic. As buildings became taller, more complex, and sited in denser urban locales, the approximated "rules of thumb" that guided previous practitioners could no longer suffice. Commenting on an early skyscraper, one architect noted that "it is of utmost importance...that the amount of steel used should be determined by actual calculation, and not by guesswork."[78] In this sense, both Trautwine's *Civil Engineers' Pocket-Book* and Kidder's *Architects' and Builders' Handbook* facilitated the transition toward more technical, precise, and codified forms of knowledge within the building construction industry. Whereas Kidder himself did participate in the older tradition of office training and apprenticeship, his handbook reflected the dawning a new era for education

[76] Michael Gibbons et al, *The New Production of Knowledge: The Dynamics of Science and Research in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publication, 1994), 24.

[77] As professions transitioned from apprenticeship to university models of education in the early twentieth century, certain forms of tacit knowledge disappeared from practice. In his book, *Architecture in the Age of Divided Representation: The Question of Creativity in the Shadow of Production,* Dalibor Vesely wrote extensively about this loss. According to Vesely, the increased emphasis on productivity within modern society has come at the expense of "practical knowledge, spontaneous creativity, and skill." (Dalibor Vesely, *Architecture in the Age of Divided Representation: The Question of Creativity in the Shadow of Production* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), 282.) As Vesely suggests, the codification of architectural knowledge had dramatic effects on the ways in which buildings were designed and constructed in the twentieth century. Yet, the transition from tacit to codified forms of knowledge was not absolute. Although distinct from craftsmanship and technical skill, professional knowledge can also be characterized as "residing in the heads" of individual practitioners. As Andrew Abbott reminds us, "To ask why societies incorporate their knowledge in professions is thus not only to ask why societies have specialized, life-time experts, but also why they place expertise in people rather than things or rules." (Abbott, 323.)

[78] A. O. Elzner, "The First Concrete Skyscraper," *Architectural Record* 15, no. 6 (June 1904): 535.

and practice—one characterized by quantification and prescription rather than on-site improvisation.[79]

This transformation of expert knowledge, which was prompted by practical issues of construction, soon made its way into education and professional culture. Although engineering education was formalized in response to the Morrill Act of 1862, many Americans viewed the discipline "as too pragmatic and utilitarian for higher learning."[80] This perception colored debates "over the appropriate balance between preparing graduates for immediate usefulness in the workplace and providing them with a more fundamental knowledge that would allow them to continue their education and be more useful in the long run."[81] Throughout the nineteenth century, engineering education in the United States gradually transitioned from "shop culture" to "laboratory culture." In other words, hands-on learning was replaced by a more abstract educational model, which prioritized the understanding of mathematical and scientific principles over the mastery of specific skills and techniques.[82]

Just as engineering education pivoted from tacit to codified forms of knowledge, so did the profession of architecture. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, admittance to the American Institute of Architects was based on professional reputation and demonstrated abilities. However, at their 1899 convention, delegates unanimously voted to limit the organization's

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[79] At the same time, a similar movement was occurring within the field of engineering. In his book, *The Making of the Modern Architect and Engineer*, Ulrich Pfammatter describes the transition from "shop culture" to "school culture." See Ulrich Pfammatter, *The Making of the Modern Architect and Engineer* (Basel: Birkhauser, 2000), 265 - 292.

[80] Lawrence P. Grayson, *The Making of An Engineer: An Illustrated History of Engineering Education in the United States and Canada* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1993), x.

[81] Lawrence P. Grayson, *The Making of An Engineer*, x.

[82] For more detailed accounts of engineering history, see Daniel H. Calhoun, *The American Civil Engineer: Origins and Conflicts* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), Eugene Ferguson, *Engineering and the Mind's Eye* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1992), Samuel C. Florman, *The Civilized Engineer* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), Art Kramer, Robert Sylvester, Joe Colcord, and Robert Seabloom, *Civil Engineering 1898 – 1998, One Hundred Years of Excellence in Education* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1998), James McGivern, *First Hundred Years of Engineering Education in the United States*, 1807-1907 (Spokane, WA: Gonzaga University Press, 1960), Terry S. Reynolds (editor), *The Engineer in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), James H. Schaub, and Karl Pavlovic, *Engineering Professionalism and Ethics* (Malabar, FL: Robert E. Kreiger Publishing Co., 1986), and Hans Straub, *A History of Civil Engineering* (London: Leonard Hill, Ltd., 1960).

membership to those architects who had either graduated from a recognized architectural program or could pass an examination prescribed by the Institute.[83] Such a move signaled a dramatic redefinition of the architect within modern society: suddenly, the architect was not only a designer of buildings, but also a specialized expert who could demonstrate a sophisticated understanding of architectural knowledge through non-visual means.

Many American practitioners viewed the shift toward codification as an opportunity to revise conceptions of architects within the popular imagination. Rather than artisans or craftsmen, architects of the late nineteenth century positioned themselves as learned professionals whose mastery over a complex knowledge base justified their authority.[84] To a certain extent, the formalization of education and codification of expert knowledge did elevate the status of architects during this period. Commenting on three novels, the cultural critic, Herbert Croly, noted that architects had become featured protagonists within popular American fiction of the era. According to Croly, this characterization of the American architect in fiction indicates that "he has become a social fact, not quite as conspicuous as the sky-scrapers he

[83] "Convention of the American Institute of Architects," *Brickbuilder* 8, no. 2 (November 1899): 215-216. "From the standpoint of the profession as a whole, the most important action taken at this convention was the adoption of recommendations made by the committee on education, in accordance with which the Institute is practically committed to such alternations of its by-laws as shall require an educational test for membership in its body. This is a move which has been agitating for many years, which has been successfully in operation by the Royal Institute of British Architects, but which has come slowly here. The unanimity with which this measure was approved by the convention was considerable of surprise, and a very pleasant one to many who have followed the course of the agitation leading up to his during the past years. In brief, it is proposed that after 1904 membership in the Institute shall be open only to those who are graduates of a recognized architectural school, or who have successfully passed such examination as shall be prescribed by the Institute. We consider that this action of the convention marks one of the most important steps taken by this body since its formation."

[84] "Architectural Training," *Brickbuilder* 9, no. 2 (February 1900): 23: "Architecture can to-day fairly be classed as one of the learned professions...The duties and responsibilities of the profession are increasing so fast and are so much in excess of anything that was thought of thirty years ago that, although there are some most notable exceptions, the qualifications of a modern architect are acquired only after long years of training."; Hamlin, "Twenty-Five Years of American Architecture," 4 - 6: "The influence of all these schools, conservative and academic in the main, but by no means narrow or superficial, has served to raise the standards of our architecture, to bring it more and more into its proper place as a learned profession as well as an art; a profession in which science and general culture unite with imagination and trained taste to make it a worthy pursuit for men and women of high aspiration. In this general raising of standards, the American Institute of Architects has played an important part. Through its conventions, the meetings of its chapters, its official representations and memorials to Congress and to other authorities on matters relating to public architecture, and its consistent efforts to improve the conduct of competitions and to systematize professional ethics and practice, it has rendered great service to American architecture. These activities have been prosecuted in no spirit of exclusiveness or trades-unionism, and the procession at large, both in and outside of the Institute, has profited by them."

sometimes rears, but of such prominence and interest to demand an accounting on the part of our social auditors."[85] Croly even suggests that fiction writers were drawing upon the theme of professional authority in order to develop their characters.[86] Writing specifically about the character of Selma White from Robert Grant's 1900 novel, *Unleavened Bread*, Croly argues that her dismissal of architectural expertise contributes to her unlikable persona.

> Selma White is a very disagreeable but a very convincing character, and she represents the tradition which is the worst enemy of American architecture in American life—the tradition which resents exclusive technical standards and refuses to trust the men who by their thorough training have earned the right authoritatively to represent such standards.[87]

Yet, even if Selma White did not appreciate the expertise of architects, more important figures did. Speaking at the 1905 convention of the AIA, President Theodore Roosevelt praised architects and recommended that other groups concede matters of building "to the guidance of those who really do know what they are talking about."[88]

2.6 Architects and Engineers

Although the codification of knowledge certainly improved the public's perception of American architects, the extents and boundaries of architectural authority remained undefined. Perhaps the most nebulous territory was that which lay between the professional jurisdiction of architects and engineers. In her book, *From Craft to Profession: Architectural Practice in Nineteenth Century America*, Mary Woods argues that nineteenth-century engineers "did not

[85] Herbert Croly, "The Architect in Recent Fiction," *Architectural Record* 17, no. 2 (February 1905), 137.
[86] It is worth noting that Croly's personal relationship to architecture may have colored his cultural commentary. As discussed in the following chapter, he served as an editor for *Architectural Record* between 1900 and 1906, where he actively participated in the project of professional aggrandizement.
[87] Croly, "The Architect in Recent Fiction," 139.
[88] "Convention of the American Institute of Architects," *Brickbuilder* 14, no. 1 (January 1905): 3. Other notable politicians in attendance at the AIA convention included Howard Taft, John Hay, Elihu Root, John Marshall Harlan, and at least seven United States senators. In the next day's issue of *The Washington Times*, an editorial described the AIA as a most important organization, noting that "no other body, not even Congress excepted, stands guard on the development of the capital with equal watchfulness; and no other body, Congress still not excepted, will leave so deep an impression upon the Washington of the future."

necessarily compete with architects; they became architects."[89] Certainly, Frank Kidder's education and career demonstrates this point. Yet, while Kidder made a successful career by exploiting the slippage between these two disciplines, many architects found the ambiguity of professional roles quite unsettling. As such, the proper relationship between architects and engineers was a regularly debated topic within professional periodicals, at AIA conventions, and around the drafting table at architectural offices all over the country.

Some commenters insisted that architects and engineers should share certain skills and knowledge bases in order to better collaborate in the field:

> [The Profession] remains, to a considerable extent, ignorant of and uninterested in the art of engineering as it concerns the constitution of buildings...Herein lies the cause for a regrettable lack of sympathy between architect and engineer, a circumstance more potent than any we know to work to the detriment of both architectural and engineering work. If only the architect were a little more of an engineer and the engineer a little more of an architect, what opportunities would be created for mutual help and progress![90]

Others argued that a clear jurisdictional boundary between architects and engineers was both necessary and desirable:

> If the architect undertakes to compete with the engineer on his own ground he will be beaten hands down, but it will be a sorry day for the art of this country when engineering considerations are to take precedence of pure design; and our advice to a young man would be first and always to study design, beauty, purity of line, fitness of material, and, if he is a man of only ordinary mental endowment, he need have no difficulty in solving nearly all the engineering problems associated with the largest buildings, and the few such problems which would be too much for him would be of a nature which he ought to place in the hands of a competent engineer in any case.[91]

Not surprisingly, many architects held a rather biased perspective on the issue. They described the relationship in terms of an established hierarchy:

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[89] Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 160. For a European perspective on jurisdictional boundaries between architects and engineers, see Andrew Saint, *Architect and Engineer: A Study in Sibling Rivalry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007) and Ulrich Pfammatter, *The Making of the Modern Architect and Engineer.*

[90] "Architect and Engineer," *Architectural Record* 31, no. 1 (January 1912): 95.

[91] "What is an Architect?," *Brickbuilder* 9, no. 9 (September 1900): 178. Also, see "Editorial Comment and Notes," *Brickbuilder* 14, no. 9 (September 1915): 236: "To be sure it cannot be expected that the architect shall have the special education that is necessary for great engineering feats. The variety of subjects his profession requires him to understand and the scope of his activities preclude any highly cultivated knowledge along that special line. Perhaps the most nearly ideal substitute for the architect-engineer is a partnership including an architectural engineer."

> The architect is always an engineer; but the engineer, even though he has charge of the construction of a building, is seldom an architect. The greater always includes the lesser. Both the engineer and the architect have had their share of the world's work. The great spectacular achievements such as railroads and canals have fallen to the engineer and his practice has crystallized into an exact science. Architecture, on the other hand, has always been an art. That is what makes architecture more than engineering and keeps it perennially alert and ready for changes—a condition which rarely exists in the engineering profession.[92]

These vastly different interpretations of the architect/engineer relationship illustrate the atmosphere of uncertainty that accompanied the definition of professional boundaries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The formalization of education and codification of knowledge within architecture and engineering made certain jurisdictional overlaps especially apparent. Trautwine's *Civil Engineer's Pocketbook* and Kidder's *Architects' and Builders' Handbook* are exemplary texts that illustrate the codification of knowledge for the two professions. Of course, Kidder's focus on technical and scientific aspects of architectural practice, such as structural loads and building foundations, was quite different than the design fundamentals emphasized at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris, or even at MIT or Columbia University. Nonetheless, Kidder was adamant that his handbook was *not* intended for engineers. In the preface, he specifically states that "the more intricate problems of building construction, which may fairly be said to come within the province of the civil engineer, have been omitted."[93] Such a statement is important because it suggests that Kidder only included information on topics that fell under the jurisdiction of architects. While this observation may seem rather unremarkable to today's readers, it has profound implications when one considers the context within which Kidder was writing. In the very moment that professional boundaries were being defined, Kidder's handbook reconsiders the domain of architectural practice. His extensive list of topics suggests an expansion the architect's

[92] "The Engineer and the Architect," *Brickbuilder* 25, no. 9 (September 1916): 248. More nuanced descriptions of the architect and engineer are proposed in "The Engineer, the Architect, and the General Construction Company," *Brickbuilder* 13, no. 10 (October 1904): 213 and "Responsibility of the Architect," *Brickbuilder* 7, no. 9 (September 1898): 177.
[93] Frank Kidder, *Architects' and Builders' Handbook* 3rd ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1886), vii.

jurisdiction, encompassing aspects of construction that had gradually disappeared from both architectural theory and practice. Most notable among the topics on which Kidder and Trautwine overlap is foundation design

2.7 Building Foundations

As the physical joint between building and ground, foundations provide a crucial base upon which all future construction relies. Beyond their structural function, foundations also acquire symbolic connotations within the rituals of building construction.[94] Yet, the question of whether architects or civil engineers held proper authority over this important subsection of practice remained unsettled at the end of the nineteenth century. Both Trautwine and Kidder included extensive discussions on building foundations within their respective treatises. Interestingly, the primary difference between the two revolves around the issue of water. Whereas Trautwine discusses underwater foundations in great detail, Kidder concedes this area of expertise to engineers. According to Kidder, "it is seldom that architects design buildings whose foundations are under water; and, as this division of the subjects enters rather deeply into science of engineering, we shall not discuss it here."[102] From this passage, one can see the clear formation of professional boundary in regard to the design of bridges. Yet, the jurisdictional boundaries for other types of foundation design were far more nebulous and undefined.

For the most part, Trautwine and Kidder agree upon the main principles of foundation design. Kidder's text even cites Trautwine as an authority on engineering subjects and reproduces a formula from his handbook.[103] Both authors agree that the goal of foundations is to

[94] Neil Harris describes these rituals and practices associated with foundations—as well as groundbreakings and cornerstones—in his book, *Building Lives: Constructing Rites and Passages*. Neil Harris, *Building Lives: Constructing Rites and Passages* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 19-27.
[102] Ibid., 131.
[103] Ibid., 136.

evenly distribute (rather than eliminate) structural settling. As Kidder put it, "our main objective...is not to prevent settlement entirely, but to insure that it shall be uniform; so that, after the structure is finished, it will have no cracks or flaws, however irregularly it may be disposed over the area of the site."[104] To this end, both authors refer to Rankine's recommendation that the allowable load per square foot of rock "should not exceed one-eighth of that necessary to crush it."[105]

Throughout the 1890s, architects and engineers jockeyed for authoritative positions in regard to building foundations. This jurisdictional dance played out regularly within professional journals from the period.[106] In addition to battling each other, however, architects and engineers also had to compete with contractors, whose expertise relied upon personal experience. For instance, one contributor to *Brickbuilder* warned against taking the advice of "the average builder's foreman [who] will be very ready to declare that earth that looks solid will hold."[107] Kidder's second major publication, *Building Construction and Superintendence*, which was first published in 1893, reiterates his earlier jurisdictional claims with more than 100 pages dedicated to the topic of foundations. However, the dynamics of professional jurisdiction over the ground would soon be thrown into flux once again as the stakes of building construction were raised in the early twentieth century.

[104] Ibid., 130.
[105] Ibid., 132.
[106] See Wilfred Beach, "The Architect: Introduction," *Architectural Record* 35, no. 5 (May 1914), 428 - 429.
[107] "Preserving Records of Foundations," *Brickbuilder* 7, no. 11 (November 1898): 236: "There are foundations and foundations, and though the average builder's foreman will be very ready to declare that earth that looks solid will hold, in an expensive phrase, all that you can put on it, every one who has studied foundations knows that the contrary is very often the case. We have seen the bottom which had every appearance of being the hardest, firmest kind of dry, gravelly clay, but which upon investigation proved to be simply a thin layer of such clay over a relatively soft and yielding earth."

2.8 Revisions for a New Century

Although Kidder's handbook was revised and republished on a regular basis, the most significant transformation occurred between the thirteenth and fourteenth editions. In his preface to the fourteenth edition, which was published in 1904, Kidder notes that this new version contains nearly three times as many pages as the original. Yet, he also contends that it "is perhaps not more complete, for the times, than was the first edition."[108] This statement reflects the dramatic changes that reshaped architectural practice during the late nineteenth century. Innovations in construction technology, the establishment of higher standards, and the creation of legal frameworks for practice all contributed to a notable increase of the architect's prerequisite body of knowledge. Kidder's discussion of building foundations in the fourteenth (and subsequent) editions demonstrates this point.

Whereas earlier editions of the handbook simply pointed to Rankine's recommendations, the fourteenth edition details new research on the bearing power of soils. Citing the work of Professor Ira A. Baker of the University of Illinois, Kidder provides an in-depth survey of several different kinds of soil found in various parts of the country.[109] However, the most significant addition to Kidder's discussion is a list of municipal building codes that regulate "the maximum pressure to be placed on the ground under the footings."[110] For instance, Kidder notes that the building code of Greater New York specifies a maximum load of one ton per square foot for soft clay, two tons per square foot for ordinary clay and sand together, and three tons per square foot for firm and dry loam, clay, or fine sand. These restrictions are presented with the caveat that the Commissioner of Buildings has jurisdiction and can override them in special

[108] Frank Kidder, *The Architects' and Builders' Handbook* 15th ed., vi.
[109] Ibid., 136 - 137.
[110] Ibid., 138.

cases. Kidder also goes on to describe similar regulations defined in the Chicago Building Ordinance.[111]

The point here is not to dwell upon the particularities of each municipal code, but rather to notice that a critical transition was taking place. Whereas nineteenth-century architects and civil engineers shared (and sometimes battled for) jurisdiction over the design of building foundations, their professional authority was called into question during the early decades of the twentieth century. As cities became more industrialized and populated with tall buildings, government agencies intervened in the name of public safety, developing numerous codes and ordinances that regulated the relationship between building and ground. This phenomenon of state intervention would become increasingly familiar to design professionals during the twentieth century. Such a dynamic is further highlighted in Chapter Six through a discussion of government-employed planners.

In many ways, Frank Eugene Kidder's life and career tells the story of American architectural practice in a moment of transformation. A child of middle-class parents in Bangor, Maine, Kidder acquired an engineering degree from his hometown's land-grant college that established a foundation for all of his future professional experiences. After graduation, Kidder got the opportunity to study under such notable nineteenth-century architects as William Robert Ware, Henry Van Brunt and H.J. Hardenbergh. And because he entered the profession at the very moment that architectural education was shifting from office training to university models, Kidder had the benefit of experiencing both. Although he later went on to design many buildings of his own, Kidder's most significant contribution to architecture came in response to the crisis

[111] Ibid., 139.

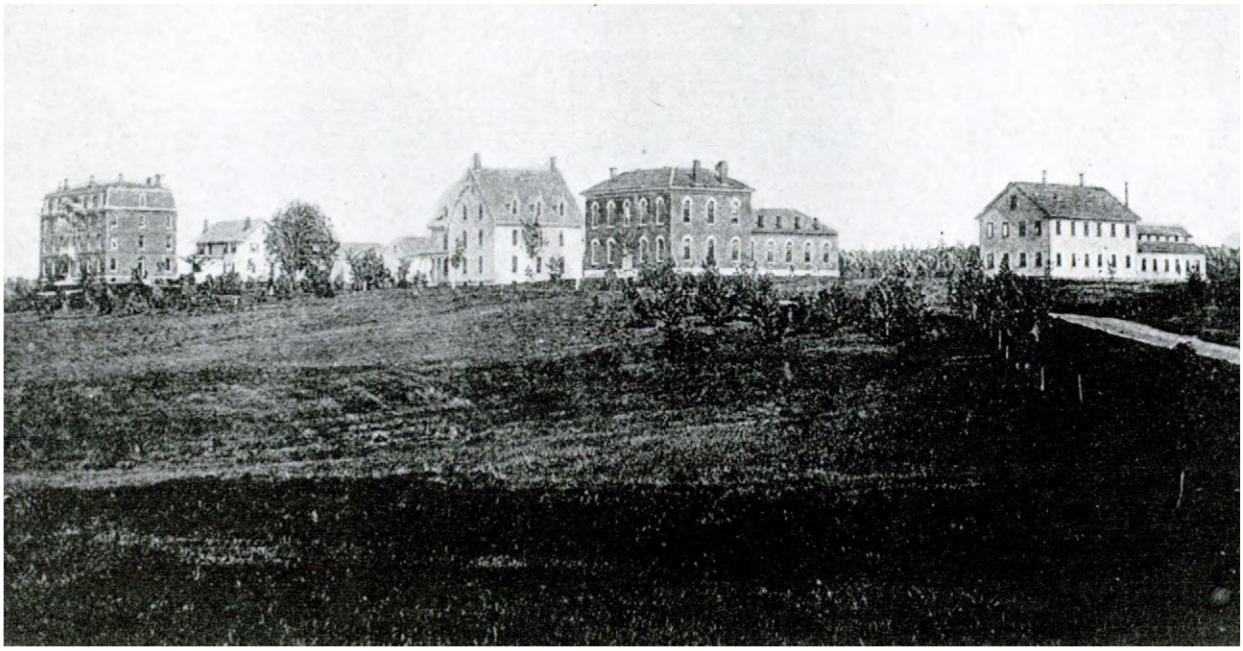
of professional knowledge. His *Architects' and Builders' Handbook* presented an extensive codification of architectural expertise that reflected the transition to a new mode of practice.

Within the context of this study, Frank Kidder is an illuminating figure to follow because his life and career cut across numerous educational and professional shifts. Through his diverse training and interests, Kidder embodied the slippage that existed between architecture and civil engineering during late nineteenth-century America. Although he would go on to practice as an architect for many years, Kidder's professional identity was never fully resolved. As the subsequent chapters of this study illustrate, however, this integrated model of practice would become impossible for twentieth-century professionals. Instead, a variety of contributing factors set the disciplines of architecture and engineering on divergent trajectories. As a result, the boundary between the two professions became increasingly solidified leading up to World War I.

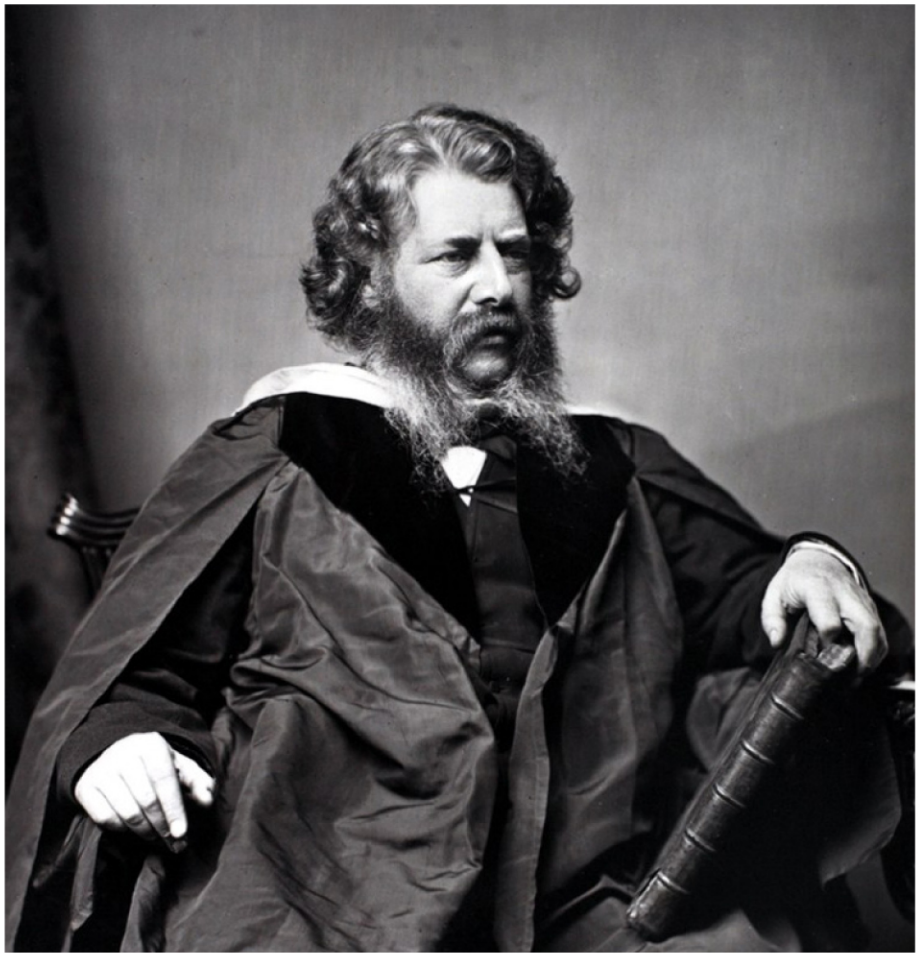
Ultimately, Kidder's story ended in a manner that resonated with the future development of American architectural practice. Battling various health conditions, Kidder sought refuge in the healthful landscapes of Colorado for the remainder of his life. Such a retreat from the city to the countryside became a recurring theme within architectural practice during the early twentieth century. Instead of participating in the design of urban centers, many architects focused their efforts on the design of country houses and gardens for a wealthy clientele. And while this shift in practice avoided the jurisdictional disputes with engineers and city officials, it revealed a new set of challenges.

[Fig. 2.1] Bradley Page Kidder, carpenter, tanner, meat marketeer, and father of Frank Eugene Kidder.

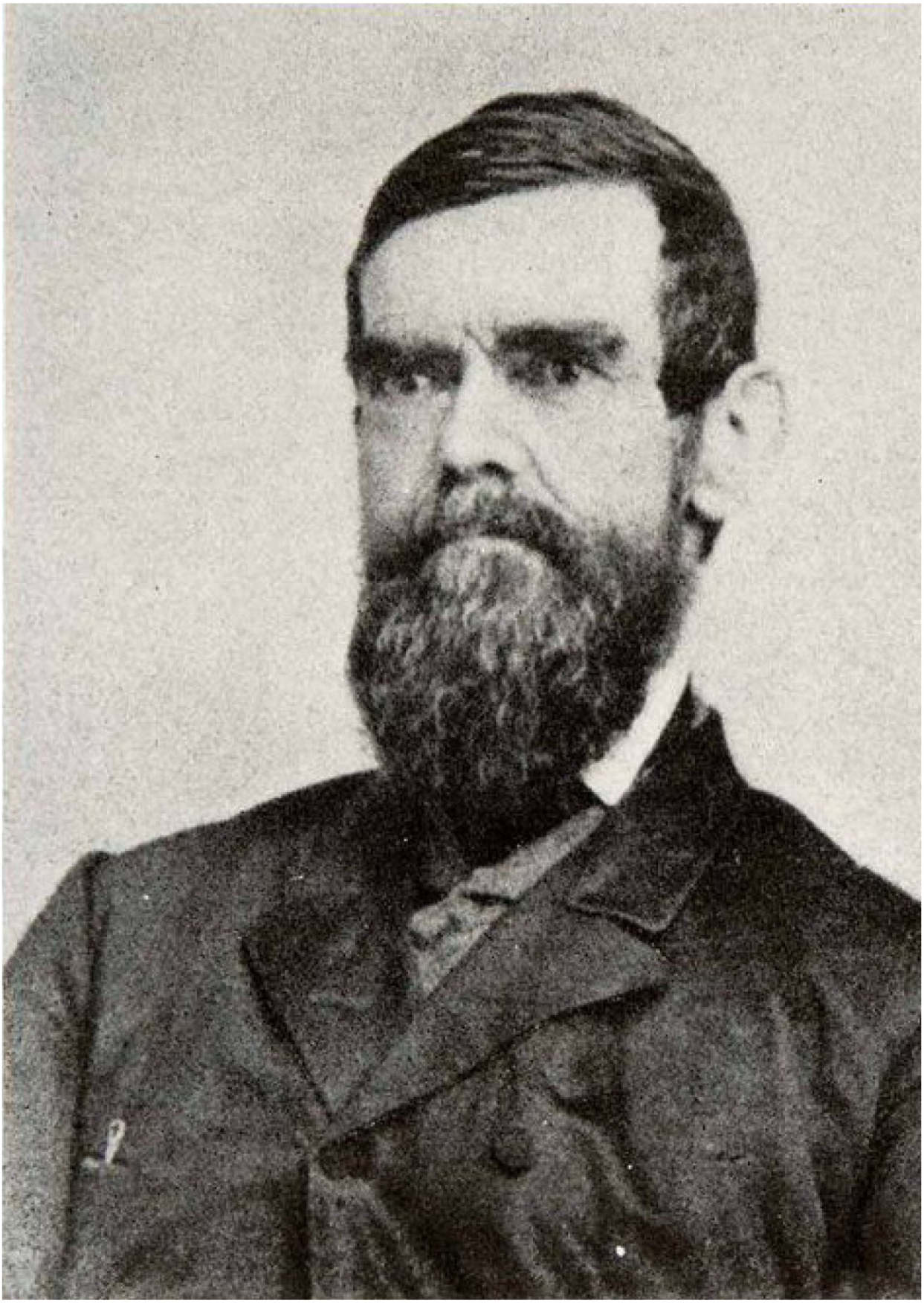
[Fig. 2.2] Workers maneuver logs across a river in Bangor, Maine, the lumber capital of the United States.



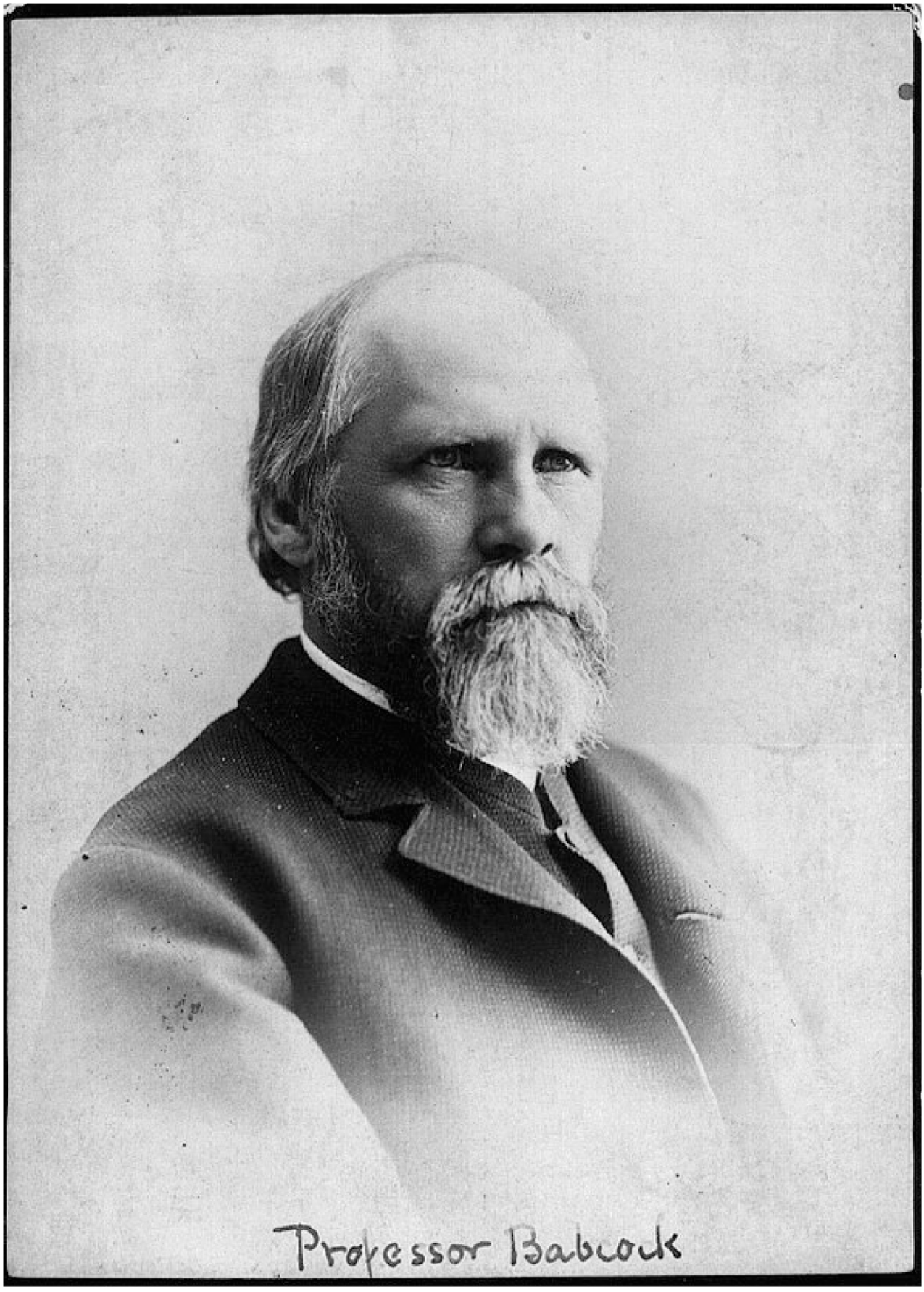
[Fig. 2.3] Campus of Maine State College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts (now University of Maine) in 1885.



[Fig. 2.4] William John Macquorn Rankine, author of *A Manual for Civil Engineering*.



[Fig. 2.5] John C. Trautwine, editor of *The Civil Engineer's Pocket-Book*.



[Fig. 2.6] Professor Charles Babcock, the first director of the architectural program at Cornell University.

[**Fig. 2.7**] William Robert Ware (left) and Henry Van Brunt (right), partners of the architectural firm Ware & Van Brunt.

[**Fig. 2.8**] Richard Morris Hunt, the first American to study at the Ecole des Beaux Arts.

[Fig. 2.9] The Dakota Apartments (designed by H. J. Hardenburg) photographed in the winter of 1890.

CHAPTER 3. RETREAT

As cities in the northeastern United States became more congested and industrialized toward the end of the nineteenth century, many wealthy city-dwellers sought retreat in the "natural" landscapes of the surrounding countryside. Perhaps led by a desire to live out their rustic, pastoral fantasies during the summer months, these urban businessmen and their families helped give rise to a new typology of American architecture: the country house and garden.[115] Importantly, the emergence of this trend was accompanied by new forms of media, especially professional journals, which provided a platform for discourse and debate. Throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century, the proper design of American country houses and gardens was a recurring topic within architectural periodicals. *Architectural Record*, for instance, had a long-standing tradition of devoting its October installment entirely to the subject. The central issue within these debates was the question of how and in what ways American designers should build upon or diverge from European traditions of garden and landscape design. Yet, as architects soon discovered, the task of establishing professional legitimacy was far more difficult at the scale of residential construction. In the countryside, architects encountered a deep-seated distrust of "experts" who privilege the esoteric over the commonsensical. Further compounding the situation was the lack of barriers to restrict outsiders from practicing architecture and landscape design within rural locales.

This chapter examines the ways which the country house and garden typology facilitated an internal discourse on conceptions of ground as well as an external dialogue concerning professional legitimacy. Following a discussion of the key issues affecting site selection and site

[115] Of course, country houses have a much longer history in Europe. For instance, wealthy elites and aristocrats built large country estates during the eighteenth century in England. And, one might technically characterize the villas designed by Palladio in the sixteenth century as "country houses," because they functioned as vacation destinations rather than primary residences.

preparation for country houses, attention is directed toward the debate between formal and wild styles of garden design. Then, the life and career of Charles Platt is used to illustrate the ease with which non-architects could enter into architectural practice during this period. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of landscape architecture's professionalization and the various models of collaborative practice that were tested out in the design of country houses and gardens. As in Chapter Two, professional boundaries are fluid—rather than fixed—within this chapter. However, the intrusion of artists and laymen led many architects (and even landscape architects) to see this professional fluidity as problematic in the context of the American countryside.

3.1 The Country House and Garden

While the country house and garden phenomenon developed outside of the city center, it was undoubtedly a *product*—rather than a *rejection*—of urbanization.[138] Even contemporary critics understood this dynamic. As one commenter put it in 1907, "The modern country house is a child of our own times and...one might almost say that the country house is a product of city culture."[139] For those who could afford it in the early twentieth century, a country home offered the opportunity to escape the confines of the city and enjoy the splendors of natural scenery

[138] A full history of American domestic architecture is beyond the scope of this study. For a more detailed account of the house and its role within American ideology, see John Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House, 1690-2000* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

[139] "Country House and Garden," Clara Ruge, *Architectural Record* 22, no. 4 (October 1907): 311: "The urban inhabitant has gradually outbalanced the rural, while his ways of thinking and living have become the most prevalent. With the city life, however, come the results of the unduly increased luxuries attendant on the close crowding together of rival elements and the increase of commercial interchange. The urbanite becomes supersensitive and nervous; he begins to grow weak in soul and body. Just here arises the need for the modern country house. People demand quiet, rural surroundings, country air. They wish to escape the noise, the too exacting demands of society. All this drives the city inhabitant out into the country. He goes with an increased love for nature, with a hungering after it instilled by long privation. His position towards nature is a new and wholly different one from that of the man who has never been away from it." (311) "Within the last decade this flight from the city has been noticeable in all lands, its influence and intensity differing according to the economic development of the country. It appears to have begun in England and is there so well organized and so general that it might be said that it is the earnest desire of every city inhabitant to come into contact with nature in some way, either by living in the suburbs or by owning a place in the more distant country for summers and vacations." (311) "We can say with truth, that there is no urbanite to-day who is not filled with a sense of longing at the thought of living in the country." (311)

during the summer months. This seasonal respite gave wealthy city-dwellers something to look forward to as they endured the harsh winters. Importantly, the availability of automobiles helped usher in the country house trend by allowing for fast and reliable transportation between city and country.[140]

As the popularity of country houses grew, American architects and critics (not to mention land speculators) took notice.[141] Architects welcomed the work, especially since the economic collapse of 1893 had stalled many of the commercial and public building commissions. Critics envisioned the trend as an opportunity for architects to design with more freedom than would be allowed in urban settings. As one commenter put it, "The young architect who is conscious of individuality and who is unwilling to go on repeating patterns according to formulae, and turning out what he might call machine-made architecture, finds his field in country houses."[142] Another critic echoed this sentiment, stating that "poetical spirit is driven out of the city by commercialism, but is still possible in the country."[143]

Perhaps the most significant figure to take an interest in the country house and garden subject was a young editor of *Architectural Record* named Herbert Croly (Fig. 3.1).[144] Under his direction, the magazine dedicated its October issue entirely to notable country houses.[145] For

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[140] Technological innovations in transportation also spurred the creation of "streetcar suburbs." This parallel development to the country house and garden typology fundamentally changed the nature of urban form and its demographic distribution.

[141] George Pentecost Jr., "The Economic Development of Building Estates," *Architectural Record* 25, no. 4 (April 1909): 275: "Realizing the growing demand of the country-loving public for beautiful or picturesque homes, realty speculators are rapidly buying up the most desirable areas for intermural homes." (275)

[142] Montgomery Schuyler, "Recent American Country Houses: An Introduction," *Architectural Record* 32, no. 4 (October 1912): 272.

[143] Charles Bohassek, "Loramoor: Estate of Jas. Hobart Moore, Esq., Lake Geneva, Wisconsin," *Architectural Record* 15, no. 3 (March 1904): 262.

[144] Born in January of 1869, Herbert Croly would go on to become one of America's leading progressive intellectuals. Through his published books, including *The Promise of American Life* and *Progressive Democracy*, as well as the journal he co-founded, *The New Republic,* Croly strongly influenced political landscape of the early twentieth century. However, prior to his accomplishments in the realm of progressive political theory, Croly made important contributions to architectural discourse. In 1900, he was hired as an editor for *Architectural Record* at the age of thirty-one. The subject upon which Croly wrote most frequently was the country house and garden. Under his editorial direction, *Architectural Record* dedicated its October issue entirely the subject. This tradition continued even after Croly left the magazine in 1906.

[145] This tradition continued even after Croly left the magazine in 1906. "Recent Country Houses," *Architectural Record* 28, no. 4 (October 1910): 233: "For some years past it has been the policy of the Architectural Record to publish every fall a selection

Croly, this phenomenon was not merely an opportunity for architects to garner more commissions with increased freedom for artistic expression. Instead, Croly observed that the country house and garden typology had the potential to fundamentally transform architectural practice. In a 1904 article on the layout of country estates, he noted that landscape design was becoming " a well-recognized department of architectural design—recognized, that is, not merely by the profession, but by the clients of the profession."[146] Through his editorial capacities, Croly called attention to this emerging dialogue between building and ground. In doing so, he not only directed attention to stylistic debates, but also to the more nuanced considerations of selecting and preparing sites for construction.

3.1.1 Selecting the Country House Site

Within the pages of journals like *Architectural Record* and *Brickbuilder*, architects of the early twentieth century argued that their professional expertise was crucial for the selection of an appropriate country house site. With urgency and forlorn, they warned against the layman's hubris in believing that he possessed the knowledge to determine the good sites from bad ones.

> The purchase of property which represents the future home of a family is a question of supreme importance and yet the average layman considers himself fully competent to select a parcel of land as being fitted to the most artistic development, or at least, capable of development along lines suitable to his personal tastes. Such an attitude is no less illogical than would it be for him to attempt the designing of his own house and grounds, or to rely on his own judgment in the purchase of valuable objects of art.[147]

This particular author even goes on to draw a connection between site selection and artistic integrity:

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among the country houses which have been recently erected in different parts of the Union; and this policy has been systematically pursued, because, as we have frequently asserted, the ideals and the variety of the better American architects receive their highest and fullest expression in the country house. This assertion is becoming with the passage of the years more, rather than less, true."

[146] Herbert Croly, "The Layout of a Large Estate," *Architectural Record* 16, no. 6 (December 1904): 531.

[147] George Pentecost Jr., "Selecting the Suburban Home Site," *Architectural Record*, June 1909, 383.

> To expect of an artist to create a perfect picture without having had the privilege of selecting its very basis—the essential item of the entire work—is to expect the impossible. No landscape painter of any self respect would accept a commission to 'fill in' a canvas, the back-ground of which had been started by a layman.[148]

Interestingly, one condition was nonnegotiable for architects assisting in site selection. Rather than evaluating sites based on maps or drawings, architects insisted that they be permitted to visit the site in person. Only by walking the grounds themselves, could architects get the full experience necessary to provide their expert opinions.[149]

This discussion of site selection begs the question: What exactly were the guidelines or criteria that architects looked for in selecting a country house site? More than anything else, architects sought out sites that provided opportunities to frame scenic views to the surrounding landscape. This propensity for visual pleasure was more important to architects of the early twentieth century than the size of the lot or its location relative to access roads. As one commenter noted, "other things being equal, a good site—that is, a lot which is good ground to build on, and which offers good views—is worth more than a lot of greater area, but lacking in these qualifications."[150] In fact, this same author went so far as to suggest that lots without views were practically worthless.[151] More than anything else, architects and their clients understood the natural landscape as an aesthetic commodity. As such, their interventions on country house sites

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[148] Ibid., 383-384.

[149] "Plans for Home Grounds," *Garden and Forest*, June 19, 1895, 241: "A correspondent writes to say that he has a piece of land nearly six acres in extent and approximately in the form of a square. A river flows along one of its boundary lines and from this land rises in a gentle slope throughout. He wishes us to indicate what point on this lot we consider the most desirable locations for a dwelling-house, and requests us to furnish him with plans for his grounds, or refer him to some book of plans from which he can select a suitable one. The fact that the writer imagines that he has given sufficient data for a satisfactory plan for his grounds, and his belief that he can find a ready-made plan to suit them, shows that he has not give much thought to matters of this sort." George Pentecost Jr., "Selecting the Suburban Home Site" : "Apart from its value as a working basis to the constructing engineer [the topographical map] has a pictorial value insofar as it is descriptive of the general type of the property. In this sense it is frequently used by companies in conjunction with the general sales map, to such prospective clients as are unable to personally view the property...Carelessness upon the part of the intending purchaser in ascertaining the relation between map and ground facts, and negligence—to use no stronger word—on the part of the company, to strictly adhere to the 'promises' of the map, is a cause of endless disagreement, disappointment, and in many instances, of law-suits. A general map should not be offered to an intending purchaser as a 'bait,' but as a positive representation of what has been or is to be constructed....It is a frequent custom for companies to sell their lots 'as per map.' It need hardly be pointed out that purchaser should invariably ignore such a practice. He should buy land and not representations." (382 - 385)

[150] George Pentecost Jr., "The Economic Development of Building Estates," 279.

[151] Ibid., 276: "[Lots] which are shut off from all views, owing to the contiguous tree growth, are practically unsalable at remunerative figures."

were guided by a desire to capitalize on those natural elements deemed visually beautiful, while eliminating or suppressing the rest.

3.1.2 Preparing the Site for Construction

Once an appropriate country house site was selected, the work of preparing the grounds for construction could begin. Oftentimes, the first step in site preparation involved the removal of trees that obstructed views to the surrounding landscape. As with site selection, architects argued that strategies for "thinning out" the existing trees could not be devised by simply looking at a map. Instead, one must "acquaint himself with the internal topography of the woodland by tramping through it until its every detail and all of its component parts have become clearly 'mapped-out' in his mind."[152] Only after the woods have been thinned, this particular author argued, should a topographical survey be ordered.[153] The insistence upon an extensive site visit reveals a certain degree of hesitation toward the use of measured drawings. Increasingly, architects of the early twentieth century would be asked to create and present their designs through plans and sections. In fact, new contractual frameworks for practice would soon require these orthographic drawings to precisely predict the outcomes of construction. So, the fact that many architects preferred to make design decisions on site (rather than through drawings) could be interpreted as an adherence to traditional methods during this moment of transition. As Eliot Freidson has shown, this resistance to change is characteristic of professions more generally. According to Freidson, when new technologies or skills emerge, professionals often respond with a "grudging but necessary reaction."[154]

[152] George Pentecost Jr., "Selecting the Suburban Home Site," 381.
[153] Logically, his claim was that a survey would be significantly less expensive once the site was cleared of unwanted trees.
[154] Eliot Friedson, *Professionalism: The Third Logic* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 57.

In addition to felling obstructive trees, the site's topography must also be leveled (or sculpted according to the design) before construction can commence. The general procedure for leveling the site involves a process known as "cut and fill." The idea is to remove earth from parts of the site that are too high and use that same earth to fill in areas that are lower than desired (Fig. 3.2).[155] Ideally, the cuts and fills should be planned in such a way that they offset each other in quantity. If a particular site has a dramatic slope, it is usually more economic to devise a series of terraces than to bring in external dirt for the purpose of creating a level surface. One must also keep in mind that the bulldozer tractor was not invented until the early 1920s. So, the cuts and fills required for a country house site were accomplished through manual labor during the early twentieth century. One author summarized the basic rules of thumb for organizing a labor gang to level a site:

> Three men are required to properly utilize two wheel-barrows—one to run the barrows and two for filling. An average run should not exceed one hundred feet. For every additional twenty yards an extra man is required. If picking or hacking is required on account of heavy gravel or hard-pan an extra man will be required to assist the diggers. Three or four men thus organized should move about thirty cubic yards a day to a distance of 100 feet.[156]

This description of grueling physical labor underscores a paradox of modernization's impact on conceptions of work and its relation to larger social experience. On the one hand, scholars associate modernization with the emergence of specialized experts who elevate their status by transforming their respective trades into professions. At the same time, however, modernization also involves a transition in the opposite direction, as some laborers are relegated to menial tasks that strip work of its capacity to produce meaning.[157] These two diverging trajectories for de-

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[155] In this part of the process, it is essential to preserve the topsoil. George Pentecost, Jr., "The Country Gentleman's Art: Specifications for the Working Out of Landscape Gardening," *Architectural Record* 28, no. 6 (July 1910): 43: "Commercially, top-soil is worth anywhere from one dollar to two or more dollars a yard. An abundance of top-soil is of the last importance in the final maturing of the grounds...To bury top-soil or otherwise waste it in landscape work might be justly called the 'unpardonable crime.'"

[156] George Pentecost, Jr., "The Country Gentleman's Art: Specifications for the Working Out of Landscape Gardening," 43.

[157] Bertell Ollman has written extensively on this transformation of work in his book, *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society*. His chapter on "Man's Relation to His Product," for instance, explicitly addresses Marx's argument that

skilled laborers and modern professionals ultimately exacerbated existing class divisions within American society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Once the trees are thinned and the topography of the site is leveled, the architect can begin the process of laying out the grounds for construction. For this step, "the design should be transferred to the ground as accurately and fully as possible. Where there are terraces to form, or deep filling or cutting, rough grade stakes should be placed as guides."[158] Interestingly, architects of the early twentieth century agreed, almost unanimously, on one guideline for this part of the process. That is, they agreed that the design should respond to site contingencies. This sentiment was restated in a variety of ways by contributors to professional publications. One author notes, "The first essential of success in arranging grounds is the ability to recognize the characteristic and salient features of a place so as to work in harmony with them instead of coming into conflict with nature."[159] Another adds, "Rightly conceived, the road system of a highly diversified landscape should grow out of and emphasize the dominant features of the land."[160] Implicit in each of these statements is a strong critique of the so-called "grid-iron" plan that dominated American city planning during the nineteenth century. Rather than imprinting a preconceived organizational system onto the landscape, these architects argued for more site-specific approaches that respond to existing topographies. Despite their apparent resolution, this opposition between autonomy and site-responsiveness would continue to be a divisive issue throughout the twentieth century.

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modern labor (especially within capitalist society) exercises power over the individual. Bertell Ollman, *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society,* 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 136. Hannah Arendt also reflected upon this phenomenon in her 1958 book, *The Human Condition*. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition,* 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 162.

[158] George Pentecost, Jr., "The Country Gentleman's Art: Specifications for the Working Out of Landscape Gardening," 43.

[159] "The Key-Note in Landscape Gardening," *Garden and Forest*, December 27, 1893, 531.

[160] George Pentecost Jr., "The Economic Development of Building Estates," 279.

Of course, the unacknowledged context for these discussions of site selection in the American countryside was the historical development of landscape design in Europe. The strong contrast between French formalism and the English picturesque undoubtedly shaped the ways in which American designs approached the task of treating the grounds surrounding a country house. These divisions would eventually manifest in the debate over American garden styles, which is discussed later in this chapter. But first, American architects had to determine the proper relationship between building and ground.

3.2 Building and Ground

Upon first glance, professional publications from the early twentieth century appear to suggest a consensus among practitioners in regard to the relationship between building and ground. Nearly every architect and critic agreed that *unity*, *harmony*, and *intimacy* should be the defining characteristics of any project. Additionally, most commenters also agreed that a building without a well-designed landscape element would appear *naked*, *bare*, and *incomplete*.[161] Yet, when put under further scrutiny, there *are* actually significant differences of opinion in regard to the dynamic between architecture and landscape.

With the discipline of landscape design still in its infancy during the late nineteenth century, many failed to see its full potential as an art form. Several contributors to professional journals referenced a phrase suggesting that landscape is "the sauce of architecture."[162] This phrase, which was popularized at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris, was originally intended to

[161] "Two Studies for House Plantings" *Garden and Forest*, April 22, 1891, 184: "Most American suburban houses stand naked in naked enclosures...It has been shown that even in the smallest house-yards one helpful thing can be easily accomplished—the building may be connected with the ground and the appearance of nakedness removed by massing shrubs along the bases of the walls or piazzas. In almost every situation, be it among sea-side ledges or amid fertile lawns, some plants and the selection of sorts being carefully adapted to the character of the site and the style of the building." "Privacy in Suburban Life," *Garden and Forest*, July 29, 1896, 309: "Our houses, too, often stand bare when they should be covered with vines, and the foundation walls are unscreened when low shrubs should be planted against them to join the house to the ground."
[162] See "An Architectural Garden," *Garden and Forest*, June 17, 1896: 242.

convey the importance of landscape to architectural design. However, some architects took issue with this particular characterization of the relationship between building and ground.

> Now, a Frenchman's idea of the importance of a sauce is very different from our own, and one must know Parisian dinners and Parisian cooks to appreciate the full import of the phrase. Nevertheless, taking it in its highest potency, we are inclined to utter a mild protest against it. A truer simile would suggest the difference between an article of food which is cooked or prepared in any way and one which is raw...In any case where landscape-architecture might help the sister art (which means in every case except that of a building on a closely covered city street) there is as much necessity for its service as for the service of fire upon meat. A building badly placed when it might be well placed and surrounded is worse than ungarnished, it is incomplete.[163]

Those who objected to the sauce analogy argued that landscape should not be understood as merely supplemental to architecture. Instead, they insisted that a building and its surrounding grounds were of equal importance. Nonetheless, many critics and architects continued to describe the dynamic with a clear hierarchy in mind. For some, landscape operated as a frame or pedestal for architecture.[164] Others claimed that landscape's primary role was to function as a threshold between "raw nature" and architectural space.[165] One advertisement even suggested that the purpose of landscape design was to "blot out the unsightly" aspects of a house.[166] With no hint of irony or humor, the advertisement notes that "a few vines, trees or shrubs properly selected and arranged take off the hard angles, hide the obnoxious, and put the finishing touch on a new country home" (Fig. 3.3).[167]

While the hierarchical ranking of architecture over landscape was a recurrent theme within professional discourse, some authors attempted to challenge this interpretation. Inverting the hierarchy, these authors noted that "considered as landscape elements, the buildings of a

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[163] "The 'Sauce of Architecture,'" *Garden and Forest*, January 28, 1891, 37.
[164] "An Architectural Garden," *Garden and Forest*, June 17, 1896: 242. "[L]landscape work is to surround and support the building, serving both a frame and as pedestal. The accessories of the architecture, such as the terraces, balustrades, paths, foundations, open spaces and vistas which come nearest to the building, and other architectural features, are really a part of the building."
[165] Elmer Garnsey, "The Formal Garden," *Brickbuilder* 8, no. 4 (April 1899): 71. Without a proper garden, they argued, the design would suffer from a harsh contrast between rough, untamed wilderness and refined, geometric space.
[166] Oftentimes, advertisements are just as useful as articles for understanding how a magazine's audience viewed particular technologies or ideas.
[167] Advertisement: "Blot Out the Unsightly," *Architectural Record* 18, no. 5 (November 1905).

large estate are incidents of no greater importance than are the woods, the water, the open field, the sky, and the grazing herds."[168] Commenting on the work Louis Christian Mullgardt, Herbert Croly praised the architect's ability "to make a building a real and natural *supplement* to a landscape."[169] Others argued that the best designs were those that raise "an abiding conjecture as to whether the effect is that of architecture embellished by planting or that of planting embellished by architecture."[170] Still, some sought to eliminate the notion of hierarchy altogether. These authors insisted that architecture and landscape were "indissoluble" and, therefore, should "be considered together from the very outset."[171] In making this argument, they drew upon an analogy that has appealed to several generations of architects: *growth.*[172]

From the writings of John Ruskin to contemporary interests in biomimicry, the analogy of natural growth has historically held a prominent place within architectural theory. During the early decades of the twentieth century, the idea of growth was often applied to the relationship between a building and its surrounding grounds. Praising a house of "unusual merit," one author proclaimed that "the unity between the landscape and the architecture is very complete, and the house looks as if it had *grown* from its surroundings in a very natural way."[173] In an article published in the March 1908 issue of *Architectural Record*, Frank Lloyd Wright provided his own growth metaphor:

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[168] Warren H. Manning, "The Field of Landscape Design," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 2, no. 3 (April 1912): 108.
[169] Herbert Croly, "An Architectural Innovator: Some Houses by Louis Christian Mullgardt," *Architectural Record* 30, no. 2 (August 1911): 134. Emphasis added.
[170] Herbert Croly and C. Matlack Price, "The Recent Work of Howard Shaw," *Architectural Record* 33, no. 4 (April 1913): 308 - 310.
[171] "The 'Sauce of Architecture," *Garden and Forest*, 1891, 37.
[172] Interestingly, another analogy was occasionally employed to describe the building/ground dynamic: *marriage*. Above all else, a marriage is a partnership that requires a certain degree of reciprocity between the two parties involved. In applying the metaphor of marriage to the relationship between building and ground, several authors highlighted the benefits of a productive back and forth dialogue. "An Architectural Garden," *Garden and Forest*, 1896: 241. "While the landscape or surroundings should govern the general composition of the building in the beginning, the building should in turn, when completed, influence and govern the arrangement and composition of that portion of the landscape work which comes in immediate contact with it."
[173] "A House of Unusual Architectural Merit," *Brickbuilder* 22, no. 1 (January 1913): 7-8. Emphasis added.

> A building should appear to *grow* easily from its site and be shaped to harmonize with its surroundings if Nature is manifest there, and if not try to make it as quiet, substantial and organic as She would have been were the opportunity Hers.[174]

By describing the building/ground relationship through the analogy of growth, these architects and critics celebrated the continuity between architectural space and the surrounding landscape.

For many architects, the intimate connection between building and ground was a vision for the future trajectory of modern architectural practice. To be modern, they proposed, was to break down the barriers between architecture and landscape design. In order to build their case, these architects and critics penned harsh critiques of so-called "ship" buildings, which fail to sufficiently engage their surrounding grounds.

> A building, unlike a ship, does not change its anchorage; it is a stationary structure, and if it is properly designed in relation to its environment and the design of that environment is in harmony with the building itself, there will be no suggestion of the possibility of its removal to another and equally appropriate site. Too many buildings appear either to have been casually dropped on the ground or to have been towed in and temporarily anchored in the position they occupy. That design, therefore, is not complete which does not take into consideration the approaches to the building and the character of and detail of the grounds in which it stands.[175]

In the early years of the twentieth century, the future direction of modern architectural practice was not yet clear. Many practitioners hoped and believed that landscape design would become increasingly integrated into architectural production. In retrospect, we know that this vision did not become reality. Throughout the twentieth century, the disciplines of architecture and landscape architecture drifted apart, focusing their energies on separate and distinct problems. The present study's analysis of jurisdictional dynamics helps explain *why* architectural modernism diverged from earlier attempts to marry building and ground. But before honing in on this issue of jurisdiction, it is necessary to consider the discourses and debates that developed around a specific type of designed ground: the garden.

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[174] Frank Lloyd Wright, "In the Cause of Architecture," *Architectural Record* 23, no. 3 (March 1908): 157. Emphasis added.
[175] Elmer Garnsey, "The Formal Garden," *Brickbuilder* 8, no. 4 (April 1899), 70.

3.3 Debating the American Garden

Unlike *landscapes*, which stretch as far as the eye can see, *gardens* are bounded and contained. The etymological roots of the word "garden," in fact, reinforce this condition.[176] That being said, the particular means of containment may vary from case to case. Some gardens are enclosed by a fence, whereas others are circumscribed by a wall or hedge. Some designers may choose to emphasize this boundary, whereas others would hide it from view.[177] Nonetheless, the fact remains that some form of enclosure is fundamental to the definition of a garden. Within this established perimeter, a world of vegetation and flora is organized according to its designer's intentions.[178] As Wade Graham put it, "a garden is in effect a miniature Utopia, a diorama of how its makers see themselves and the world. Anyone who creates a garden draws a map of their mind on the ground, whether consciously or not."[179]

Since their rise to popularity in the sixteenth century, gardens have played host to a complex entanglement of nature, science, and culture. Italian gardens, for instance, were not only notable for their aesthetic dimension, but also for their wide array of exotic plants and Roman antiquities.[180] So, when American designers set about the task of garden design in the early twentieth century, the question was not whether they should be natural or artificial. These designers understood completely that all gardens contain both natural vegetation and

[176] The Germanic and Old French words for garden denote an enclosure or compound.
[177] In *The Art of Landscape Gardening*, for instance, Humphry Repton argues that gardens should be given the appearance of extension by hiding or disguising the boundary.
[178] "Always rooted in their time and place, even the most unique gardens are indicators and traces of the tensions and energies in a constantly changing society. They can express political theories, aesthetic preoccupations, scientific and religious ideas, cultural inheritances, and sheer force of personality." Wade Graham, *American Eden: From Monticello to Central Park to Our backyards: What Our Gardens Tell Us About Who We Are* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2011), xii.
[179] Wade Graham, *American Eden,* xi-xii.
[180] *Claudia Lazzaro, "Representing the Social and Cultural Experience of the Italian Gardens in Prints," in The Changing Garden: Four Centuries of European and American Art* ed. Betsy G. Fryberger (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 31.

architectural elements (e.g. the boundary wall).[181] The question, then, was which of these aspects should be emphasized in the design. It was this question that gave rise to a series of debates, which pitted the *formal* against the *naturalistic*, the *historical* against the *individual*, and the *classical* against the *romantic.* Tracing the general outline of these debates provides a crucial intellectual context for this study's analysis of professional competition between architects and landscape architects during the early twentieth century.

Proponents of the formal style of gardening argued that symmetry, subdivision, and architectural components should be employed in such a way that the garden echoes the design of its adjacent house. As one critic put it, "the garden is an essential part of the dwelling...therefore it must have the same kind of balance, regularity and finish, or, in other words, that the immediate surroundings of the house must have architectural treatment."[182] To this end, several critics suggested that interior axes of the house plan should be extended into the garden. By no means were the designers of formal gardens blind to the artificiality of their artform. In fact, they even embraced this quality by distancing their work from other conceptions of the natural environment.

> In a formal garden the language is not a refinement of Nature's, but a translation of it into quite another tongue. In a formal garden Nature is not delicately humored, but is boldly compelled in a direction opposite to any of those which she ever chooses for herself. A formal garden is not man's transcript of the woodland world, but a wholly new conception based on architectural knowledge and elaborated by architectural taste. It is as artificial, almost, as a building; for, although its materials are Nature's, so are the stones of a cathedral; and Nature shows us nothing which at all resembles it, either in fundamental idea or in finished effect.[183]

[181] See Harold D Eberlein, "Recent Aspects of Garden Design," *Architectural Recor*d 37, no. 4 (April 1915): 308. "From the etymology of the word, 'garden' denotes an enclosure and implies the presence of a wall or some protecting barrier. Furthermore, history shows an inseparable association between this enclosure and the cultivation of vegetables, fruits or flowers. As the very basic idea of a garden, therefore, presupposes cultivation and fostering care, it can readily be seen that the evidences of human artifice therein are unavoidable."
[182] "Formal Gardening," *Garden and Forest*, March 15, 1892, 205.
[183] "Formal Gardening: Does it Conflict with the Natural Style," *Garden and Forest*, May 4, 1893, 119.

Neither were the proponents of the formal gardens shy about their criticisms of the so-called naturalistic style. They argued that "it would be impossible to crowd rustic landscape effects within a restricted compass and...the attempt to do so could only be ludicrous."[184]

Their opponents in this debate, however, held a quite different perspective. To them, the naturalistic style of garden design represented a new vision for the future, one in which human artifice and natural beauty could coexist and even thrive alongside one another. In addition to adjectives like *wild*, *rough*, and *picturesque*, this style of gardening was also characterized by another qualifier: *modern*. To be modern, many critics argued, was to allow nature the freedom to chart its own course within the confines of a garden. Such a worldview was often connected to biological and emotional arguments. One commenter casually noted that "our Teutonic blood predisposes us to a more spontaneous and general love for Nature than for art."[185] Another added, "a natural landscape or a genuine work of landscape-art possesses something more than beauty, something beyond perfection of form and color. Its essential charm is the inner meaning to which it gives expression so as to move the feelings and touch the heart."[186] While the naturalistic style of gardening does not completely eliminate the need for design, it is important to note that the designer's role is transformed. Rather than imposing a geometric scheme upon the ground, the designer of a wild, rough, or modern garden operates as a facilitator for the natural environment. Certain natural effects are emphasized, whereas others are subdued.[187]

Some critics argued that no real opposition existed between the formal and the naturalistic styles of gardening. Instead, they suggested that the decision of which style to follow

[184] Harold D Eberlein, "Recent Aspects of Garden Design," *Architectural Recor*d 37, no. 4 (April 1915): 308.
[185] "Formal Gardening: Does it Conflict with the Natural Style," 120.
[186] "Formal Gardening," *Garden and Forest*, May 4, 1892, 205.
[187] "Unnatural Gardening," *Garden and Forest*, September 11, 1895, 361-362.

should be determined by either the appropriateness of the setting or the client's personal tastes.[188] Yet, this characterization of the garden design debates belies deep, ideological differences between the two camps. One commentator, for instance, described naturalistic gardening as the style of the uneducated masses: "People with a feeling for design and order will prefer the formal garden, while the landscape system, as it requires no knowledge of design, appeals to the average person who 'knows what he likes,' if he does not know anything else."[189] Another author fired back, asserting that "over-educated" designers, who prefer the formal style, were an impediment to progress:

> Excessive knowledge of architectural history may be responsible for the great number of stereotyped buildings that are built now-a-days. There is too much 'Academy' architecture; too much so-called 'Classic' that is indiscriminately stuck everywhere regardless of conditions; too much school and too little individualism; too much tradition and not enough originality; too much of the profession and not enough of the man.[190]

Through the juxtaposition of these two statements it becomes clear that the debate between formal and naturalistic styles of gardening was not merely an aesthetic disagreement. Instead, it was more complex battle, entangled with political and socio-economic intricacies.

What is important for this study is that these heated discussions on garden design occurred within architectural periodicals. Therefore, it is clear that architectural critics considered landscape to be a crucial part of *their* discourse. As editor of *Architectural Record*, Herbert Croly helped stage these contentious debates between the proponents of divergent garden styles. In his own writings, however, Croly singled out one designer in particular, whom

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[188] See "Formal Gardening," *Garden and Forest*, May 4, 1892, 205: "There is no reason why one kind of gardening only should be used; indeed, there is every reason why different styles should be employed for different purposes in different places. More than this, the fact that one has an intelligent appreciation of true landscape-art does not argue any inability to enjoy the best examples of formal gardening." Also, "Formal Gardening: Does it Conflict with the Natural Style," 120: "There is no real opposition between the two systems, although they seem very far apart when their most extreme results are compared." Also, Harold A. Caparn, "Treating the Grounds About the House," *Architectural Record* 23, no. 6 (June 1908): 441: "The treatment of the parts may be formal or informal, according to the predilections of the owner and the nature of the ground."
[189] Elmer Garnsey, "The Formal Garden," *Brickbuilder* 8, no. 4 (April 1899): 71.
[190] Bohassek, "Loramoor," 261-262.

he deemed most capable of ushering in the future of architecture and landscape design: Charles A. Platt.

3.4 Charles Platt and the Italian Garden Precedent

Charles A. Platt, born October 16, 1861, grew up in an upper-middle class family living in New York City (Fig. 3.4).[191] From an early age, Platt's sights were set on the fine arts, rather than the more technical profession of architecture. He enrolled at the National Academy of Design at age seventeen, where he studied painting and etching. Four years later, Platt left the United States in order to continue his training in Europe. According to the historian, Keith Morgan, Platt "favored harbor scenes and gentle rural landscapes, rendering them in restricted, subdued tonalities."[192] Morgan also notes that Platt's explorations of painting and etching were simultaneous, with the same locales often portrayed in both media (Fig. 3.5 & 3.6). Although he married in the spring of 1886, his young wife, Annie, died during childbirth the following year. This tragedy brought Platt back to the United States, where he joined a European colleague at an artist colony in Cornish, New Hampshire. This decision would prove to be a pivotal moment in his transition from the fine arts to architecture and landscape design.[193]

Situated in the pastoral landscape of central New Hampshire, the Cornish Art Colony was founded by the renowned sculptor, Augustus Saint-Gaudens in 1885. Over the next several years, other artists and writers joined, including Thomas and Maria Dewing, Henry and Laura Walker, and Stephen Parrish (Platt's former etching instructor and father of Maxfield Parrish). Upon his arrival to Cornish in 1889, Platt faced an entirely new opportunity as Henry Walker

[191] His father was a lawyer, who developed connections with important artists and intellectuals through his involvement with the Century Association. His mother belonged to an established Northeast family, who owned and operated a successful silk mill. Keith N. Morgan, "Charles A. Platt and the Promise of American Art," in *Shaping an American Landscape: The Art and Architecture of Charles A. Platt* ed. Keith Morgan (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1995), 4.
[192] Keith N. Morgan, "Charles A. Platt and the Promise of American Art," 4.
[193] Ibid., 3-5.

commissioned him to design a house for him and his wife, Laura. Although he had no formal training or education in building design, Platt set about the task of creating his first architectural work. The house that he designed was modest: one story high with a series of five bays (Fig. 3.7). Soon after its completion, Platt continued along this line of exploration by designing his own summer residence in Cornish. Over the next two decades, several other clients would commission his design services as well. In this way, the Cornish Art Colony become "a laboratory for Platt to test his growing interest in designing houses and landscapes."[194]

Platt's return to America also allowed him to reconnect with family. While he was away in Europe, Platt's younger brother, William, had begun to apprentice under the esteemed landscape artist, Frederick Law Olmsted. Yet, the brothers' shared interest in design did not mean they shared the same stylistic inclinations. According to Keith Morgan, Charles Platt felt that Olmsted "had prejudiced his brother against the architectonic tradition in gardening."[195] In an effort to educate his younger sibling, the elder Platt planned an extensive tour of the Italian peninsula. Together they visited dozens of Italian Renaissance villas and gardens, making notes and photographs, which Charles Platt would later publish in his widely acclaimed book, *Italian Gardens* (Fig. 3.8).[196]

After returning to the United States, Charles Platt applied the principles of the Italian villas to his own architectural and landscape projects. These historically conscious works not only won him further design commissions, but also critical acclaim. Herbert Croly, the young editor of *Architectural Record*, praised Platt for his exploration of such a rich historical precedent. According to Croly, Italian gardens represented a harmonious synthesis of design and

[194] Ibid., 5. Alma M. Gilbert and Judith B. Tankard, *A Place of Beauty: The Artists and Gardens of the Cornish Colony* (Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press, 2000), 5-8.
[195] Keith N. Morgan, "Charles A. Platt and the Promise of American Art," 5.
[196] Ibid., 5-6. Contemporary historians attribute Platt's rapid success in landscape design to this publication, which attracted numerous clients who wanted the ideals of the Italian gardens translated to the American context.

nature. Within their walls, he argued, the opposition between formal and naturalistic styles disappeared.

> The Italian gardens, formal as they were, were designed with an eye strictly to landscape values, and constitute without a doubt the supremely happy blending of architectural proprietary and out-of-door feeling. They are the original and classic type of garden from which the French and English gardens are descended, and to which we must return for the spirit and principles of the best landscape architecture.[197]

Of course, Croly's statement does not imply that gardens were an invention of the Italian Renaissance. In fact, two of the most famous gardens—the Garden of Eden and the Garden of Gethsemane—were products of Biblical times. Yet, within the context of the Italian Renaissance, the garden was elevated to a higher status both as a designed environment and as a cultural ideal. Some elements of Italian gardens were later transplanted to France, where they were incorporated into increasingly formal schemes, such as Andre Le Notre's design for the grounds of Versailles. Then, in the early eighteenth century, English designers embraced picturesque landscapes as an alternative to the rigid formalisms of French gardens (Fig. 3.9). It was these English precedents that shaped Frederick Law Olmsted's vision for American landscape parks. However, for Herbert Croly and many other Americans of the early twentieth century, the Italian garden still reigned supreme as the historical model to study and build upon.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, Croly penned dozens of articles celebrating Platt's masterful treatment of country houses and their adjoining gardens. In fact, Croly was so convinced by Platt's talent that he commissioned the painter-turned-architect to design his own summerhouse at the Cornish Art Colony (Fig. 3.10).[198] Yet, the fact that Platt entered the field as a fine artist—rather than a trained architect or landscape architect—was not

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[197] Herbert Croly, "The Architectural Work of Charles A. Platt," *Architectural Record* 15, no. 3 (March 1904): 183.

[198] See Alma M. Gilbert and Judith B. Tankard, *A Place of Beauty: The Artists and Gardens of the Cornish Colony* (Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press, 2000), 105-108. While Platt embraced his new role as architect and landscape designer, he also continued to paint. Platt's 1904 oil painting, entitled G*arden in Winter*, depicts an overview of Croly's garden half-covered in fresh snow (Fig. 3.11).

lost on Croly. In article for *Architectural Record*, Croly reflected upon the relationship between Platt's paintings and his design work:

> Because Mr. Platt started his work as a painter of landscapes [one might suppose that he] had a leaning towards picturesque as compared to formal design. But just as he was too well-informed a painter to seek for picturesque landscapes, so he is too well-informed an architect not to discern the artificiality of merely picturesque houses.[199]

But regardless of whether Platt's training in the fine arts of painting and etching influenced his architectural inclinations, the fact that he had no formal education or office training in architecture or landscape design was remarkable. In fact, Platt appeared to have stumbled into the profession by chance when he was unexpectedly offered a design commission at the Cornish Art Colony. Such a pathway to architectural prominence would be unimaginable in the decades to come. In this way, Platt's success reflects the lack of barriers to architectural practice at the turn of the century, especially in rural contexts. With the older generation of architects steeped in the tradition of apprenticeship and a new generation embracing the model of university education, it was difficult for the profession to establish universal standards that would restrict outsiders from entry. Ultimately, it was this condition that allowed a fine artist to find his way into the practice of architecture and garner the attention of one of the country's most notable critics.

According to historian Keith Morgan, Platt always considered himself to be an outsider within the profession of architecture.[200] Nonetheless, he was able to successfully compete for commissions, even beating out Frank Lloyd Wright for the design of Harold and Edith Rockefeller McCormick's estate in Lake Forest, Illinois (Fig. 3.12).[201] In 1898, Platt officially changed his occupation within the New York City Directory from "artist" to "architect."[202] With

[199] Herbert Croly, "The Architectural Work of Charles A. Platt," 243-244.
[200] Keith N. Morgan, "Charles A. Platt and the Promise of American Art," 9.
[201] Ibid., 12.
[202] Ibid., 8.

this change in title, the general public was expected to recognize his expertise and authority in the realm of architectural design and construction. However, the lack of educational or licensure requirements to regulate aspiring and practicing architects posed a problem for design professionals. This problem was further compounded by the American public's growing suspicion and distrust toward new forms of expertise and bureaucracy.

3.5 Professional Expertise in the Public's Eye

While modernization is usually associated with an increased reliance upon specialized experts, this process also produced a reactionary sentiment within American society. In popular fiction, for example, several authors mocked the modern fetish for efficiency at the expense of old-fashioned common sense. Nowhere was this sentiment better illustrated than in Ellis Parker Butler's 1905 short-story, "Pigs is Pigs." First published in *American Illustrated Magazine*, Butler's humorous text centers around a railway employee, who is responsible for receiving payments on the packages shipped through incoming trains. At the start of the story, this employee is arguing with a customer over a price discrepancy. The package in question contains two live guinea pigs, for which the railway employee is demanding the 30¢ livestock fee. Frustrated by the employee's lack of common sense, the customer argues that he should only have the pay the pet fee, which is 25¢. Much to the customer's chagrin, the railway employee stubbornly stands his ground, replying with the humorous line, "pigs is pigs." Angered by the situation, the customer leaves without the package and returns home to pen a fiery letter to company headquarters. However, the bureaucratic structure of the company delays the claims process, as the customer is redirected several times to different specialized departments. The railway employee, too, becomes frustrated by the overly complicated organization of the company. After the customer left without paying for his package, the employee telegraphed

company headquarters to inquire about how he should proceed. When he did not receive a response, the employee proceeded to purchase food for the guinea pigs, which he bills to the customer. The climatic punch line of the story comes when it is revealed that the two guinea pigs have multiplied several times over, leaving the railway employee to construct cages and care for thousands of guinea pigs.[203]

Butler's "Pigs is Pigs" story is unquestionably his most famous lampoon of modern culture. However, he also published a lesser-known satire of professional architects, which highlights the skepticism that characterized the public's view of experts in the early twentieth century. This text, entitled "Serio-Piffle Architecture," was first published in the November 1910 issue of *Architectural Record*. It begins with a description of the fictional Serio-Piffle school of Architecture, a place filled with pointed beards, red neck ties, and neatly manicured fingernails. As Butler explains, "it is the architect of this school that supplies the Seriousness, and this is most necessary, for his Architecture is entirely and wholly Piffle."[204] In humorous detail, Butler paints a portrait of the modern, professional architect as a pompous, over-educated figure, who unnecessarily complicates every aspect of building design. The Serio-Piffle architect, Butler writes, spends his time "thinking up ways of placing the planks so that they may have absolutely no relation to the construction" and deciding "whether to make the dormer windows too long or too wide for the size of the house."[205] The purpose of Butler's story is to expose the architect as an imposter and fraud, rather than the specialized expert he claims to be. In reality, Butler suggests, the Serio-Piffle architect steals his designs from popular catalogs and magazine design competitions.

[203] Ellis Parker Butler, "Pigs is Pigs," *American Illustrated Magazine* 60, no. 5 (September 1905): 329-334.
[204] Ellis Parker Butler, "Serio-Piffle Architecture," *Architectural Record* 28, no. 5 (November 1910): 329.
[205] Ibid., 329.

After introducing the Serio-Piffle architect, Butler provides an anecdote that illustrates the ways in which this character belittles clients and insists upon his narrow-minded ideas. The anecdote follows the story of man who has come to the architect's office in order to discuss the design of his future country house. As Butler describes, the client is kept in a waiting room for a precisely calculated period of time before he is even allowed to meet with the architect. Upon entering the office, the architect spins out of his chair in a perfectly choreographed manner and then proceeds to discuss the framed watercolor paintings that cover his walls. When the two finally sit down to discuss the client's house, the Serio-Piffle architect is miffed by the fact that the client has not already acquired an engineer's survey of the property. Butler's description of their ensuing discussion mocks the supreme importance of site responsiveness within architectural practice.

> Mr. Client draws on the back of an envelope, the Plan. It is a rectangle, and he explains that he has sixty feet front, with one hundred and twenty feet depth. There is a Tree on the property about the size of a walking cane, and with a spread of limb about the size of a parasol. Mr. Piffle gravely writes this on his pad. There is also an Eminence on the property—a bump the size of a wash tub. Mr. Piffle insists on getting this located exactly. He almost weeps to think that Mr. Client has not brought an engineer's plan showing the Eminence, with a profile drawing of it. When he recovers from the shock that this oversight has caused his temperament, he carefully draws a compass in the corner of the back of the envelope, and leans back with his thin artistic fingers against his brow, and studies the envelope… "There!" he says triumphantly. "There you see, Mr. Client? I give you the advantage of a southern exposure by putting your front door at the back of the house. I place your house on the Eminence, thus taking every advantage of the natural beauties of your estate...Here will be a sunken garden, six feet by four feet, with a pergola two feet wide, twelve feet high and eight feet long, leading to the English Formal Garden, seven feet by three. The walks will wind in and out, thus taking the longest possible means to get anywhere, or nowhere, and adding to the cost of your place.[206]

Understandably, the client's reaction to the Serio-Piffle architect's ideas is not entirely positive. He hesitantly mentions that his wife "said something about wanting the front door in the front of the house."[207] Not skipping a beat, the architect replies, "Now, my dear Mr. Client; we all know wives. You can imagine what the architecture of America would come to if we allowed wives to

[206] Ibid., 331-332.
[207] Ibid., 332.

dictate. Why, *all* the front doors would be in front!"[208] In response to each of the client's objections, Butler's Serio-Piffle architect stubbornly insists upon his original conception: "For you can see with that Tree and that Eminence, a Colonial mansion is the only thing possible."[209] Unsurprisingly, when the client returns to see the architect's plans with his wife, the two are shocked by both the impracticality of the design and its excessive cost.[210]

In addition to ridiculing the pretentious qualities of professional architects, Butler's humorous text also highlights the ways in which professional authority is socially constructed, rather than given. Commenting on this dynamic, Judith Blau, Mark La Gory, and John Pipkin suggest that "[a]uthority to act derives from the perceived legitimacy of the role performed and of the individual performing the role."[211] Within urban contexts, where industrialization and densification made building construction a potentially dangerous enterprise, architects and engineers had little trouble convincing the public of the legitimacy and importance of their expertise. However, the stakes were much lower in the American countryside. For this reason, architects often struggled to convince the public that their specialized knowledge of residential architecture was superior to that of the layman.[212] And, if the architects' professional legitimacy

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[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid.
[210] As John Archer has shown, American domestic architecture often expresses the specific character of its owners. For this reason, the architect's dismal of input from his client represents an especially egregious overstep caused by the Serio-Piffle architect's arrogance and pretention. Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 176-177.
[211] Judith Blau, Mark La Gory, and John Pipkin (eds.), *Professionals and Urban Form* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1983), 1. Drawing upon the work of Max Weber, the authors outline three primary ways in which authority can be validated: "Authority can be validated by tradition (an assumption of that what has occurred previously is valid), by emotional attachment (in which validity is derived from certain charismatic qualities of the individual exercising control), by rational belief in the absolute value of the role, or by acceptance of the legality of the act." (p. 2)
[212] Magali Sarfatti Larson has argued that notions of political identity underlie this dilemma faced by architects within the residential housing market: "Until the 1870s, there was little that could distinguish the architects' designs from those of the builders of better homes, if not the size and the quality of materials. The fact that the former's clients were wealthier was not one to boast about, at least not in the Midwest. The builders were ready to denounce in the name of the populist and nationalist sentiment the elitism of architects who served the rich, imitated Europe, and pretended to keep the name of 'architect' to themselves. The dilemma was impossible to solve unless the traditional definition of the architect's role, imported from Europe and, more specifically, from the École des Beaux-Arts by its former students, was entirely recast. From that narrow platform, professional architects had to acknowledge, in all but rhetoric, that builders and prototype designers dominated the aesthetics of the larger residential market...One solution was to leave this mediocre domain and look elsewhere for the commissions that could manifest the best in the architect's vocation. This is what the elite of the profession had generally done anyway: the public building, monumental in scale, was the true expression of architects could do for the built environment of America." Magali

was not fully established in the area of house design, then it was most certainly even weaker in regard to the grounds surrounding a house.

3.6 Architectural Expertise in the American Countryside

The country house and garden phenomenon undoubtedly elevated the public's interest in landscape design. However, such an appreciation did not always come paired with an understanding of the expertise required to successfully achieve desired landscape effects. Instead, the dawn of the twentieth century brought with it a slew of do-it-yourself amateurs, who believed they were fully capable of designing their own gardens and grounds. Architects rallied against this trend within professional journals, arguing "that expert advice and assistance are needed as much for the layout and planting of the grounds as for the planning of buildings."[213] Another added, "the laymen who endeavor to develop their grounds...probably will fail."[214] *Architectural Record* editor, Herbert Croly, went even further to suggest, "the average man of intelligence is much more likely to understand the means, whereby a successful architectural result is obtained than he is to understand the means, whereby a successful result is obtained in landscape architecture."[215]

Within professional journals, architects made their case for expert advisement in developing the grounds surrounding a country house. The crux of their argument was that "cultivated taste" and a "feeling for nature" were not enough to qualify someone as a landscape designer.[216] Instead, such a complex problem required "a man who united scientific and technical

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Sarfatti Larson, "Emblem and Exception," in *Professionals and Urban Form*, ed. J. Blau, M. La Gory, and J. Pipkin (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1983), 67. Also, see Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

[213] "Landscape Gardening in California," *Architectural Record* 19, no. 6 (June 1906): 473.

[214] "Plans for Home Grounds," *Garden and Forest*, June 19, 1895, 241.

[215] Herbert Croly, "The Layout of a Large Estate," *Architectural Record* 16, no. 6 (December 1904): 531 - 532.

[216] "Landscape-gardening," *Garden and Forest*, 499-500.

training with practical experience."[217] To underscore this point, Herbert Croly listed the numerous facets of landscape design in a 1904 article published in *Architectural Record*:

> The situation of the house in relation to the view, the exposure, the prevailing winds, the surrounding foliage, and the other buildings; the situation of the garden in relation to the house, the exposure, the view and the trees; the scale and dimensions of the house in relation to the large planting; the extent to which straight lines of an enclosure or of some subordinate architectural feature are desirable either to define the view, or partially to shut it out; the careful distribution of open and planted spaces in the immediate vicinity of the house; the use of proper planting, sometimes to soften the architecture, sometimes to complete and enhance certain native landscape effects, or sometimes to add a spectacular and dramatic quality to certain particular points of view; the lay-out of the approaches for the purposes both of convenient access and of the best effect; and the running of the roads in relation to the grades of the lands and the making of entertaining vistas—the complete satisfaction of all these requirements or of half of them, is not a business which an amateur...is qualified to supply.[218]

As Croly illustrates through this extensive list, architects of the early twentieth century understood building and ground to be closely interrelated. So, in order to produce a successful result, the designer must be attentive to the ways in which architecture and landscape respond to one another on a specific site. This, they argued, was no task for an amateur.[219] Nor were certain kinds of experts qualified for the job. Several contributors to *Architectural Record* warned against trusting landscape design to horticulturalists, gardeners, and engineers.[220] However, there was one group of experts emerging in the twentieth century, who held the proper credentials to challenge architects for jurisdiction over the design of the ground: landscape architects.

[217] "Landscape Gardening in California," *Architectural Record*, 473.
[218] Herbert Croly, "The Layout of a Large Estate," 532.
[219] George Pentecost Jr., "Selecting the Suburban Home Site," *Architectural Record* 25, no. 6 (June 1909): 387: "The American layman has not yet grasped the essential inter-relation between the land, the house, and the artist."
[220] See "Landscape Gardening in California," *Architectural Record* and "Landscape-gardening," *Garden and Forest*.

3.7 Rise of the Landscape Architect

Although the art of landscape architecture had flourished in the United States since the mid-nineteenth century, its professional organization did not occur until much later.[221] The founding of the American Society of Landscape Architects (ASLA) and the establishment of various university degree programs represent critical milestones that signal the profession's formation at the turn of the twentieth century.[222] Yet, the emergence of landscape architecture as an independent profession raised a number of questions: Where did landscape architecture come from? Did it branch off from architectural practice? Or, did it develop out of horticulture and gardening traditions? More importantly, *why* did this new profession emerge in the early twentieth century? Did landscape architects organize around a new body of knowledge? Or, did an older body of knowledge suddenly become more important within modern society?

Even after the ASLA's founding in 1899, many critics doubted that landscape architecture would ever become an independent profession, distinct from architectural practice. Herbert Croly, for instance, recognized the specialty of landscape design in a 1904 article, but stated that he "[does] not believe that the landscape architects will become a branch of the profession rigidly distinguished from house architects."[223] Such a statement not only suggests that landscape architecture developed from within the profession of architecture, but also that it had not yet reached a level of maturity to be understood as its own discipline. However, other commenters disagreed with this assessment, pointing to fundamental differences between the problems of architecture and landscape design:

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[221] The attendees were: Nathan F. Barrett (New Rochelle, NY), Beatrix Jones (New York City, NY), Daniel W. Langton (New York City, NY), Charles N. Lowrie (New York City, NY), Warren H. Manning (Boston, MA), John C. Olmsted (Brookline, MA), Samuel Parsons, Jr. (New York City, NY), George F. Pentecost, Jr. (New York City, NY), Ossian C. Simonds (Chicago, IL), and Downing Vaux (New York City, NY). At this meeting, John Charles Olmsted was elected president and a committee was appointed to draft a constitution.

[222] The specific context and conditions of these developments are addressed in more detail in Chapter Five.

[223] Herbert Croly, "The Layout of a Large Estate," 532.

> The materials of the architect are artificial, definite, and unchangeable except by voluntary alteration and the slow processes of decay; his processes are reduced to the state of exact science, and, if they fail, the failure is due to neglect or ignorance. Paradoxical as it may seem, when the work of the landscape architect is finished, it is only just begun. Nothing can complete it but time and patience, and usually plenty of both. He plans for the future, and sees a vision that may materialize in two, twenty or fifty years.[224]

For some critics, the most important distinction to draw was not between architecture and landscape architecture, but instead, between landscape architecture and gardening. This opposition was often cast as those who design and organize landscapes on the macro-scale versus those who "carry out the details of any great design and realize its suggested features."[225] By characterizing landscape architecture and gardening through the design/execution dichotomy, these critics echoed the earlier split between architecture and the building trades. Key to this distinction is the idea that landscape architecture should be understood as an intellectual pursuit, rather than a technical or material one. In this way, landscape architects could be expected to work in office, dress in formal clothes, and follow a range of conventions ascribed to the professional class. Despite this apparent contrast, however, the terms "landscape architect" and "landscape gardener" continued to be used interchangeably throughout the first decade of the twentieth century.

Whereas many critics characterized landscape architecture through its oppositions (i.e. architecture, horticulture, gardening, and so on), the ASLA sought to define this new profession more directly. With John Charles Olmsted serving as the society's first elected president, the founders drafted a constitution and held an exhibition in 1902 to showcase exceptional illustrations of landscape work.[226] In its early years, the ASLA was primarily comprised of landscape architects from the northeastern United States. Of the original ten founders, seven worked in New York, two in Massachusetts, and one in Illinois. The meeting notes from this

[224] "The Landscape Architect: His Work and His Client," *Architectural Record* 22, no. 6 (December 1907): 513 - 514.
[225] "Landscape-art as a Profession," *Garden and Forest*, November 16, 1892, 541.
[226] Caparn, Pray, and Vaux, eds., *Transactions of the American Society of Landscape Architects, 1899-1908*, 19.

period indicate that the organization was heavily involved in contemporary design debates, penning numerous letters on behalf of the society to state their official recommendations.[227] And, while the purpose of the ASLA was to establish landscape architecture as an independent profession, its founders nonetheless followed the examples of other professional organizations in their structure and procedures. Arguing against the admittance of laymen to the society, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. stated that "the attitude of the American Institute of Architects, or the American Society of Civil Engineers, should be more our aim."[228]

The ASLA quickly gained significant momentum, growing from ten members to fifty within its first eight years of existence. This momentum caused contemporary critics to recognize the rise of landscape architects "not as a notable individual here and there...but as a body of increasing effectiveness and coherence."[229] For many architects, this trend presented a troubling scenario. Nineteenth-century figures like Andrew Jackson Downing and Frederick Law Olmsted could be written off as outliers and celebrated for their unique contributions to landscape design. However, the emergence of landscape architecture as a coherent and unified profession threatened the architect's jurisdiction, especially in regard to the design of the grounds surrounding a country house. Throughout the early decades of the twentieth century, architects and landscape architects would square off with one another, competing for jurisdictional authority and debating models for professional collaboration.

3.8 Jurisdictional Competition and Collaboration

Many architects were ambivalent about the rise of the landscape architect as an independent professional. At the 1905 meeting of the American Institute of Architects, one

[227] Ibid., 17-27.
[228] Ibid., 25.
[229] "The Landscape Architect: His Work and His Client," *Architectural Record*, 513.

attendee "called forth an applause of the convention by his objection to the term 'landscape architect' as applied to those who lay out the grounds and the planting around a house."[230] The modern landscapist, he argued, may not be a gardener, but "he certainly also is not an architect; and he really has less to do often with landscape, as such, than the architect himself."[231] Stubbornly defending their professional turf, some architects continued to claim jurisdiction over the design of the grounds surrounding a country house, especially in cases where the site is not excessively large.[232] However, others began to recognize that the amount of knowledge and technical skill required for each discipline was too expansive for any one person to master.

> [T]o be successful in any one of the professions of architecture, engineering, or landscape architecture, a man must give all his time and attention to the study of his profession, and that he cannot hope for a full measure of success when he attempts to practice more than one profession.[233]

Gradually, the majority of the architectural profession came to accept the expertise offered by landscape architects and turned their attention to models for collaboration. However, this question of how architects and landscape architects should work together would also prove to be a contentious issue.

Generally speaking, there were two primary models for collaboration between architects and landscape architects during the early twentieth century. The first model relied upon joint responsibility with both the architect and the landscape architect reporting directly to the client. As Henry Vincent Hubbard explained to a meeting of the Architectural League of New York, this model requires both professionals to "share in the responsibility for the results" and "in the

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[230] "Convention of the American Institute of Architects," *Brickbuilder* 14, no. 1 (January 1905): 4.
[231] Ibid., 4.
[232] Robert C. Spencer, Jr., "Building the House of Moderate Cost: The Fifth Article," *Architectural Record* 32, no. 5 (November 1912): 433: "For a very simple place, the skillful architect of country houses can be entrusted with the entire scheme of the grounds as well as much of the planting arrangement."
[233] Warren H. Manning, "The Field of Landscape Design," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 2, no. 3 (April 1912): 109.

responsibility for working out all the details."[234] Hubbard went on to argue that the success of such a balanced collaboration relies heavily upon the personalities of the two parties involved. The second type of collaboration was often characterized as the consulting model. In this case, a single design professional (either the architect *or* the landscape architect) operated as the client's primary advisor. Working in this capacity, the professional advisor in charge would commission the assistance of other professionals as necessary. Not surprisingly, architects and landscape architects had different opinions about who should function as the client's primary advisor. One contributor to the November 1912 issue of *Architectural Record* proposed that the architect should have direct authority over the entire project:

> For a large country place, I would advise the co-operation of the two; the architect to be selected first, regardless of the date set for commencing building operations. Let him advise the owner as to the choice of an able and congenial landscape architect. The preliminary studies for house and grounds can then be prepared at the same time and in sympathetic collaboration—the architect dominating, since the larger responsibility usually rests upon him. By proceeding this way, one may avoid danger of hampering the architect through possible errors in the location and layout of the house site and its approaches.[235]

However, some landscape architects objected to this model, arguing that "it is quite impossible, as a rule, for a man in either profession to do his work smoothly and harmoniously if it must be done through an intermediary whose whole experience and training are along a different line from his own."[236]

The battle for professional authority over project management reveals the messy complexities that accompany the production of buildings and landscapes. Despite the precision and clarity of a site plan, the material ground of construction resists quantification and geometric description. As such, the adjustment of grades to building levels is inherently awkward and imprecise. For this reason, the emergence of landscape architecture as its own profession raised a

[234] Henry Vincent Hubbard, "Cooperation Between Architect and Landscape Architect," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 2, no. 2 (January 1912): 47.
[235] Spencer, Jr., "Building the House of Moderate Cost: The Fifth Article," 433.
[236] Manning, "The Field of Landscape Design," 110.

number of questions about the joint between building and ground. Should the architect change the building plans to match the grades established by the landscape architect? Or, should the landscape architect adjust the grades to match the building? Who has the proper expertise to advise in the subdivision of a particular property? Who decides the specific orientation relative to potential views to the surrounding landscape? Answers to these questions were certainly proposed, but they often contradicted one another. In reality, the early twentieth century was a period in which architects and landscape architects tested boundaries and fought for as much authority as they could get. As the jurisdictional landscape took shape, its borders were every bit as messy as the joint between building and ground.

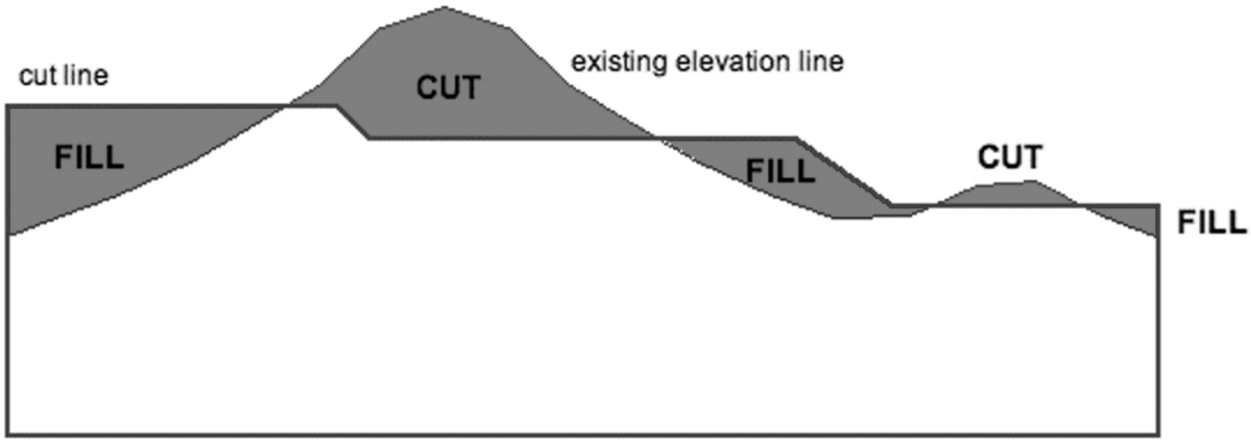
The city is often conceptualized as the primary site for cultural production. Throughout history, urban areas have served as hubs for commercial, institutional and governmental activity. In late nineteenth-century America, the processes of modernization and industrialization further reinforced the prominence of cities within public imagination. American journalists and critics used new forms of media as a platform to debate future visions of urban life. Flipping through the pages of any architectural periodical from the turn of the twentieth century, for instance, reveals the "skyscraper problem" to be a central issue. Set against the backdrop of this socio-architectural phenomenon, however, was another development taking place outside of the city limits: the country house and garden.

With the country house and garden movement, the nineteenth-century dichotomy between *healthful landscapes* and *unhealthy cities* was further concretized. At last, the automobile allowed wealthy urbanites to work in and profit from urban environments, while also having an accessible country home in which they could retreat from the industrial realm. For

architects, the increased demand for country houses and gardens revived a historical debate on the advantages of the formal and naturalistic styles of landscape design. Out of this debate came a new vision for modern architecture, wherein building and ground would be intimately related in harmonic unity. However, the country house and garden phenomenon also brought a series of jurisdictional problems. For instance, a complete lack of barriers restricting entry to practice allowed non-architects, such as Charles Platt, to successfully compete for important country house commissions. At the same time, landscape architecture emerged as an independent profession, prompting critics to debate the best models for collaboration.

Chapters Five and Six of this study suggest that the rise of landscape architecture eventually led to the decoupling of architectural and landscape expertise. As a result, previously unquestioned principles, such as site responsiveness and building/ground unity, were destabilized as these two professions jockeyed for authority and jurisdiction. Meanwhile in Washington, D.C., circumstances were developing that would provide both architects and landscape architects the opportunity to demonstrate the value of their expertise on a national stage.

[Fig. 3.1] Herbert Croly



[Fig. 3.2] Basic Cut and Fill Diagram

[**Fig. 3.3**] Advertisement: "Blot Out the Unsightly," *Architectural Record* 18, no. 5 (November 1905).

[**Fig. 3.4**] Charles A. Platt

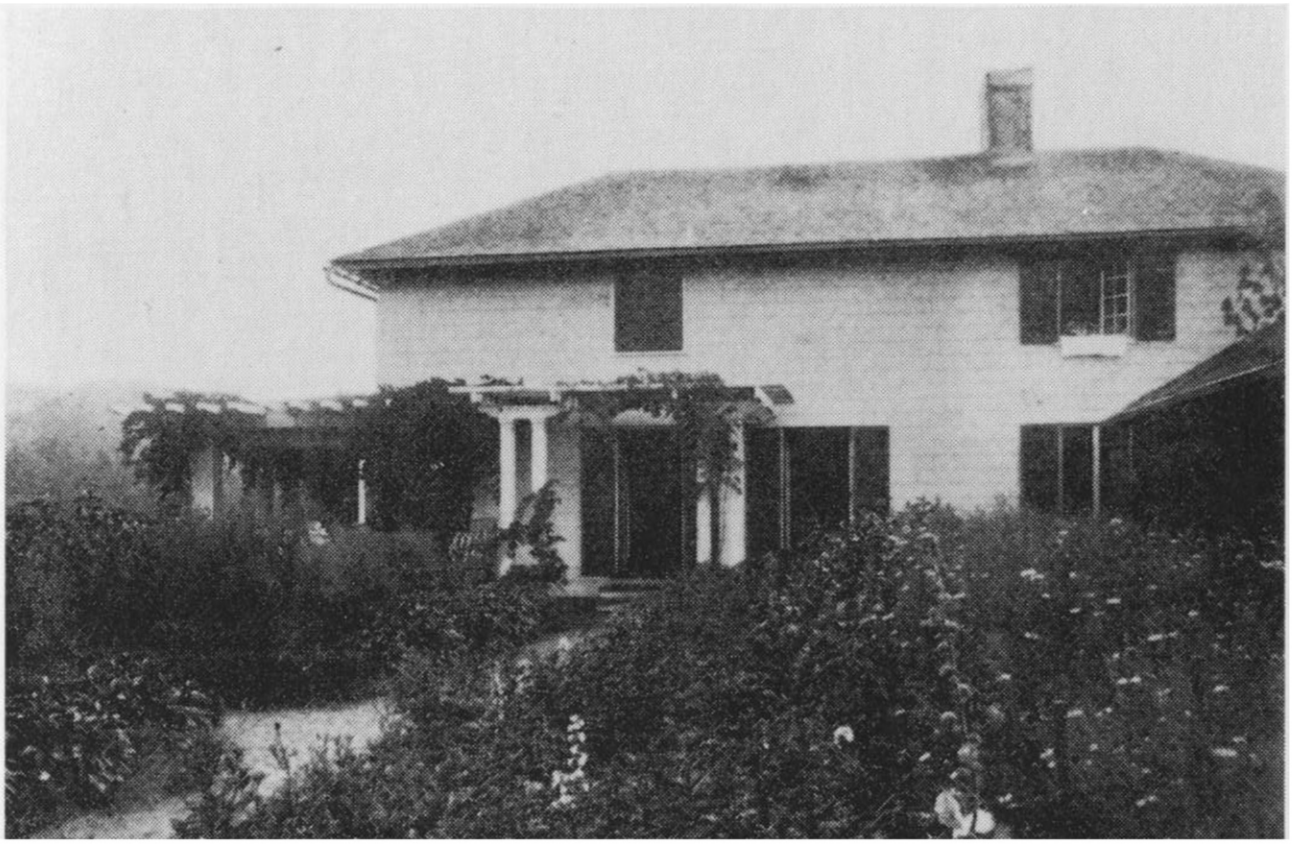
[**Fig. 3.5**] *Hartford, Connecticut* (1885), Charles A. Platt, oil on panel.

[**Fig. 3.6**] *Hartford Bridge* (1886), Charles A. Platt, etching.

[**Fig. 3.7**] Henry O. Walker Residence, Cornish, New Hampshire, designed by Charles A. Platt in 1890.

[**Fig. 3.8**] Title page of Charles A. Platt's *Italian Gardens*.

[Fig. 3.9] The grounds of the Stourhead Estate in Wiltshire exemplify the tradition of English Landscape Design.



[Fig. 3.10] Herbert Croly Residence, Cornish, New Hampshire, designed by Charles A. Platt in 1897.

[Fig. 3.11] *Garden in Winter (the Croly Garden)* Charles A. Platt, circa 1904, oil on canvas.

[Fig. 3.12] *Villa Turicum*, Estate of Harold Fowler McCormick and Edith Rockefeller McCormick, Lake Forest, Illinois, designed by Charles A. Platt between 1908 and 1918.

CHAPTER 4. IDEALS

In the early twentieth century, the nation's capital became a battlefield for determining who would held the proper expertise to oversee the design of America's rapidly growing cities. The two competing professions—architecture and engineering—each had their own allies and adversaries in the federal government and the Washington business sector. With symbolism and national pride at stake, the ensuing conflicts between architects, politicians, engineers, and private corporations demonstrated both the growing momentum behind the city planning movement as well as the inherent difficulties of mixing design and politics. This chapter follows the formation of the Senate Park Commission and their proposal for Washington, D.C. in order to highlight the question of jurisdiction over city planning.[237]

The primary division between the architects and engineers competing to redesign the National Mall was ideological. The architects, led by Glenn Brown, Daniel Burnham, and Charles McKim, along with landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., prioritized the aesthetic effect of the Mall. On the other hand, the engineers, led by Col. Theodore Bingham, understood the project according to function and efficiency. These two opposing ideologies collided in the placement of the Department of Agriculture Administration Building. Ultimately, it was President Roosevelt who had to weigh the arguments of each side and settle the jurisdictional dispute.

[237] It must be admitted upfront that many parts of this story are already well told. For instance, John W. Reps' *Monumental Washington: The Planning and Development of the Capital Center* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1967) and Jon A. Peterson's *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2003) both contain detailed accounts of the Senate Park Commission and their proposal for the redesign of Washington, D.C. My analysis builds upon their work in order to highlight the dynamics of professional jurisdiction.

4.1 A Meeting of Architectural Minds

In a Renaissance-Style palazzo on West 43rd Street in New York City, sometime in early 1899, two men were introduced for the first time. This meeting, at the Century Association clubhouse, would prove to be a pivotal moment within the history of American city planning. While the pair had never before met, they almost certainly knew each other by reputation.[238] One was Glenn Brown, an architect and historian, who had just been sworn in as the Secretary of the American Institute of Architects (Fig. 4.1). The other was Charles Follen McKim, partner of McKim, Mead, and White, and one the nation's most celebrated designers (Fig. 4.2).[239] Both men came from wealthy families and traveled in elite, intellectual circles.[240] Brown studied medicine at Washington & Lee University, then architecture at MIT where he was mentored by William Robert Ware.[241] His grandfather was a career politician from North Carolina, serving in both the NC General Assembly and the United States Senate.[242] McKim, on the other hand, was the son of a Presbyterian minister from Pennsylvania. He studied at Harvard and the École des Beaux-Arts before apprenticing under the well-known architect, H.H. Richardson. By all accounts, Brown and McKim were the rightful heirs to America's architectural identity. With

[238] One can infer that this was their first time meeting from Glenn Brown's reminiscence of the event: Glenn Brown, "Personal Reminiscences of Charles-Follen McKim: McKim and the Park Commission," *Architectural Record* 38, no. 6 (December 1915): 681-689. At the time, Brown was 45 years old, whereas McKim was 52.

[239] In fact, McKim's firm had even designed the clubhouse in which their meeting took place. However, it was Stanford White, rather than McKim, who took the lead on the project. McKim designed the Harvard Club around the block at 27-29 West 44th Street.

[240] A PhD dissertation authored by William Brian Bushong, entitled "Glenn Brown, the American Institute of Architects, and the Development of the Civic Core of Washington, D.C.," provides the most complete account of Glenn Brown's upbringing and family. Much of Bushong's research pulls directly from Brown's autobiography, *Memories: 1860-1930* (Washington: W.F. Roberts Co., 1931). McKim's life and career is more extensively documented. For detailed accounts of his biography, see Alfred Hoyt Granger, *Charles Follen McKim: A Study of his Life and Work* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1913), Mossette Broderick, *Triumvirate: McKim, Mead & White, Art Architecture, Scandal, and Class in America's Gilded Age* (New York: Random House, 2010), and Allen Greenberg and Michael George, *The Architecture of McKim, Mead, and White, 1879-1915* (Plymouth, UK: Taylor Trade, 2013).

[241] William Brian Bushong, "Glenn Brown, the American Institute of Architects, and the Development of the Civic Core of Washington, D.C." (PhD Dissertation, George Washington University, 1988), 10-11.

[242] Brown's grandfather was Bedford Brown, a Democratic Senator from North Carolina who owned slaves and supported secession. According to William Brian Bushong, Glenn Brown spent a good deal of time on his grandfather's plantation as a child: Bushong, "Glenn Brown, the American Institute of Architects, and the Development of the Civic Core of Washington, D.C."

their "proper" educations and powerful family connections, they represented the older tradition of architecture as a profession for wealthy elites.

As the pair conversed within the Century Association's rich interiors of wood and leather, they discovered a common interest in the design of the nation's capital.[243] At the time, Brown was working on a history of Washington, D.C., which he would eventually publish in the two volume series, *History of the United States Capitol.* As he later recalled, the pair spoke in depth about the merits of Pierre Charles L'Enfant's original plan for the capital city (Fig. 4.3). Commissioned by President George Washington in 1791, L'Enfant produced a design that overlaid a series of diagonal avenues onto a conventional street grid, creating public squares at major intersections.[244] In addition to this larger organization, L'Enfant's plan adopted an idea proposed by Thomas Jefferson for a grand, east-west axis that terminated on one end with the Capitol building.[245] This axis, which would eventually become known as the National Mall, served as the centerpiece of L'Enfant's design. Yet, as Michael J. Lewis has pointed out, L'Enfant did not envision the Mall as the open expanse of lawn that we know today.[246] Instead, his plans for this axis proposed a central boulevard framed by theaters, cultural institutions, and various landscape effects.[247] One of the most curious elements proposed in L'Enfant's scheme was an artificial waterfall to be located at the base of the Capitol Building on the eastern end of the axis.[248]

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[243] Brown, "Personal Reminiscences of Charles-Follen McKim: McKim and the Park Commission," 681-689.
[244] For more detailed accounts of L'Enfant's career and plan for Washington, see Scott W. Berg, *Grand Avenues: The Story of Pierre Charles L'Enfant, the French Visionary Who Designed Washington, D.C.* (New York: Random House, 2007) and Michael Bednar, *L'Enfant's Legacy: Public Open Spaces in Washington, D.C.* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2006).
[245] Lewis, "The Idea of the American Mall," in *The National Mall: Rethinking Washington's Monumental Core,* ed. Nathan Glazer and Cynthia R. Field (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 13.
[246] Lewis, "The Idea of the American Mall," 14.
[247] Witold Rybczynski, "A Simple Space of Turf: Frederick Law Olmsted Jr.'s Idea for the Mall" in *The National Mall: Rethinking Washington's Monumental Core* ed. N. Glazer and C. R. Field (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2008), 55.
[248] Lewis, "The Idea of the American Mall," 14.

Despite Brown's interest in the history of Washington, D.C., his conversation with McKim concerned the city's current state and future more than its past. The pair commiserated over the fact that L'Enfant's plan "had been ignored in the haphazard placing of buildings and the individual treatment of parks, so that the city was quickly losing its artistic character."[249] The axial centerpiece of L'Enfant's scheme had never become a reality, in part due to the decentralized nature of the federal government during the eighteenth century and strained professional relations between L'Enfant and surveyor, Andrew Ellicott.[250] Later, in the nineteenth century, a number of alternate design proposals were devised for the National Mall, including plans by Robert Mills and Andrew Jackson Downing. However, budget constraints and the outbreak of the Civil War prevented any substantial progress from being made. The design shortcomings of the Mall were further compounded by the intrusion of railroad lines, which disrupted any sense of civic monumentality (Fig. 4.4). At the close of their meeting, Brown and McKim positioned their efforts toward rallying architects around improvement the nation's capital.

It was no coincidence that these two architects were fixated on the city of Washington. Only two years earlier, in 1897, the AIA passed a motion to establish its headquarters there. The Institute even leased The Octagon, a historic mansion that served as the residence for President James Madison after the White House was burned in the War of 1812 (Fig. 4.5). And, with the 1900 AIA convention scheduled to take place in Washington, Brown and McKim agreed that this professional gathering would be the appropriate venue to discuss the future development of the city. In doing so, Brown recalled, they aimed to "bring this question to the attention of

[249] Brown, "Personal Reminiscences of Charles-Follen McKim: McKim and the Park Commission," 681.
[250] Lewis, "The Idea of the American Mall," 15.

Congress and at the same time arouse the interest of the people."[251] In reality, the issue was already on the minds of many Americans. With the next year marking the 100th anniversary of the capital being relocated to Washington, several governmental agencies and committees were busy exploring design ideas to mark the centennial. However, the very fact that Brown and McKim imagined themselves to be the leaders of this effort foreshadowed a contentious jurisdictional battle over the planning of American cities.

4.2 Allies and Adversaries

In 1915, on the occasion of Charles McKim's death, Glenn Brown reminisced about the events leading up to the redesign of Washington, D.C.[252] His recollections place architects squarely at the center of the storyline, operating as the protagonists who single-handedly brought the idea to Congress and saw it through to completion. However, this historical narrative obscured many details of the actual story. While it is true that Brown campaigned for the redesign as early as 1894, his efforts did not lead to any significant progress until he joined forces with powerful Washington insiders. In contrast to Brown's tale, the urban historian, Jon Peterson, has argued that the AIA played second fiddle to the politicians, especially Senator James McMillan. In his comprehensive study, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917*, Peterson reveals how McMillan's mastery of political tactics allowed him to circumvent several obstacles and opponents in order to take control over the redevelopment of the nation's capital.[253]

[251] Brown, "Personal Reminiscences of Charles-Follen McKim: McKim and the Park Commission," 681.
[252] Ibid., 681-689.
[253] McMillan, a three-term Republican Senator from the state of Michigan, had a background in business, which made him more pragmatic than idealistic (Fig. 4.6).

After some discussion with the AIA, Senator McMillan proposed a bill that would create a commission of artists and architects to oversee the redesign of the National Mall. However, as Jon Peterson has shown, McMillan's true motivation stemmed from a tangential bargain with a railroad company, rather than a grand vision of city planning.[254] Nonetheless, the Army Corp of Engineers objected to the idea that a commission of artists and architects would be given authority over the project.[255] The most vocal opponent of the proposal was Col. Theodore Bingham, superintendent of the Office of Buildings and Grounds (Fig. 4.7). According to Peterson, Bingham spoke out against the bill primarily because he believed that the proposed location for one of the new railroad terminals would disrupt L'Enfant's original plan for the city. Such a position is interesting because it demonstrates the ways in which architects and engineers competed even for ownership over certain historical figures. As shown above, Glenn Brown and the AIA protected L'Enfant's vision for the capital city as if it were their own—so did the Army Corp of Engineers.

When McMillan's initial bill failed to pass through Congress, he introduced a Senate Resolution that got more traction.[256] Similar to the original bill, this resolution called upon the President to appoint a committee of professionals to propose plans for the National Mall, the enlargement of the White House, and improvements for a few other notable D.C. areas. Such a committee was to be comprised of an architect, a landscape architect, and a sculptor. Although it

[254] McMillan was concerned about the numerous railroad lines that "crossed city streets at grade and, not infrequently, ran in the streets for significant distances." Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins Press, 2003), 80. These moments of overlap between trains, carriages, and pedestrians created a dangerous scenario, which resulted in numerous injuries and deaths each year. Yet, the railroad companies were a powerful force to challenge. Having abided by existing laws and regulations in the construction of their tracks, they were unwilling to devote large amounts of money and resources to move them in the name of public safety. Understanding this dynamic, McMillan proposed a legislative bargain that would require the railroad companies to elevate their lines above grade at street crossings and, in exchange, allow them to rebuild their existing terminals. The commission of artists and architect was intended to oversee the placement of these new terminals and ensure their coherence with Pierre L'enfant's vision for the National Mall.

[255] The legality of McMillan's proposal was complicated by the fact that the Army Corp of Engineers held the authority to review all public improvements within the nation's capital. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States,* 80-81.

[256] This second piece of legislation came as a direct response to an aggressive action made by Col. Bingham. Taking matters into his own hands, Bingham had devised a plan for the National Mall and submitted it directly to President McKinley.

stipulated that the committee would coordinate with the Chief of Engineers Office, this plan of action significantly marginalized the engineers' role within the design process. As Jon Peterson noted, this resolution "represented a role reversal of historic dimensions, not only for the engineer in the nation's capital but with regard to the emerging design professions in the United States."[258] However, such a role reversal was stymied by the convoluted nature of political process. While the resolution passed through the Senate, the House of Representatives altered significant aspects of the plan before putting it up to a vote. More specifically, the House's version put the Army Corp of Engineers in charge of the redesign, rather than a panel of art professionals. Eventually, following a joint conference between both houses of Congress, the pro-engineer version prevailed. To top off this sudden turn of events, Col. Theodore Bingham was appointed by the Chief of Engineers to renovate the White House.[259]

Never before had the jurisdiction over city planning been contested so directly by two professional bodies in the United States. As each side made their strategic moves in this political chess match, professional boundaries were being formed and contested. Both sides understood that the stakes went far beyond the borders of Washington, D.C. The victorious profession would ultimately be positioned to lead city planning efforts across the country.[260]

4.3 Architecture and Politics

There is no definitive explanation for why the House of Representatives granted authority to engineers, rather than architects, in the redesign of Washington, D.C. However, a broader contextualization of the relationship between architecture and politics provides key insights into the dynamics at play in this decision.

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[258] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States*, 85.
[259] Ibid., 86.
[260] Ibid., 81-83.

Since 1852, the United States Treasury Department had employed an in-house architect to oversee the design of all federal buildings. Robert Mills, designer of the Washington Monument and founding member of the American Institution of Architects, was the first to hold the position. Yet, the idea that a single architect should be responsible for all governmental buildings did not sit well with the profession at large. In the 1870s, many architects began lobbying for open design competitions for important government projects. Their calls were answered in 1893, when Congress passed a piece of legislation authored by Henry Van Brunt on behalf of the AIA. This bill, known colloquially as the Tarsney Act, required that competitions be held for the design of select public buildings, which would be judged by members of the AIA in association with the Treasury secretary. Architectural historian, Mary Woods, has suggested that the success of the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 played a significant role in facilitating the passage of the Tarsney Act. According to Woods, "the exposition buildings, designed on a monumental scale and integrated into a master plan, demonstrated what professional architects could accomplish."[261] However, she also notes that the implementation of the Tarsney Act was hindered by weak language, which made the competitions "advisory," rather than "compulsory."[262] In this way, enforcement of the act depended entirely upon the sitting Treasury Secretary. Despite these shortcomings, the Tarsney Act did lead to numerous public commissions for private architects, including Cass Gilbert's New York Custom House and the U.S. Post Office and Courthouse in Baltimore designed by Wyatt & Nolting (Fig. 4.8 - 4.9).

While the passage of the Tarsney Act represented a clear victory for American architects, it also galvanized their political opponents. At the center of the opposition was Joseph Cannon, an outspoken Republican congressman from Illinois, known for his diminutive stature,

[261] Mary Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 42.
[262] Ibid.

aggressive persona, and fiscal conservatism (Fig. 4.10). Cannon served in the House of Representatives for eighteen years before losing re-election in 1890. During this time, he chaired the Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department as well as the Committee on Appropriations. By all accounts, Cannon's mission was to cut government spending wherever possible. With this mindset, he viewed architects as extravagant and wasteful swindlers, whose "expertise" in design only served to run up the client's tab.[263] In his autobiography, *Memories*, Glenn Brown noted that "Cannon considered anything of an artistic character a raid on the Treasury."[264] Given this background, one might suggest that Cannon's absence from the Fifty-Second Congress was just as important for the passage of the Tarsney Act as the Chicago World's Fair. Ironically, Cannon was re-elected back into the House of Representatives only six months after the act was passed. He went on to serve for the next thirty-three years, making his congressional career the second longest in United States history.[265]

Once back in office, Cannon railed against the Tarsney Act and the architects behind it, often questioning the AIA's status as a professional body. For obvious reasons, this position made Cannon a popular target within architectural periodicals. However, the underlying logic of Cannon's argument deserves thoughtful consideration, rather than dismissive antagonism. Do architects really have a role to play in government affairs? Or, is their expertise better suited for private development? The answers to these questions are not as straightforward as either Joseph Cannon or the AIA claimed them to be. Since the split between architecture and engineering was a relatively recent phenomenon, the role of each profession within greater society had not yet been stabilized. As discussed in Chapter Six, engineering eventually became tied to

[263] Such a characterization has similarities with Ellis Parker Butler's description of the "Serio-Piffle Architect" discussed in the previous chapter.
[264] Glenn Brown, *Memories: 1860-1930* (Washington: W.F. Roberts Co., 1931), 264.
[265] His tenure in Congress is second only to Strom Thurmond.

governmental operations, while architecture pivoted toward the private sector. However, such an alignment did not yet exist during the early twentieth century.

The congressional debate over which professional body should take charge of redesigning Washington exemplifies the ad-hoc ways in which jurisdictional boundaries were constructed within the U.S. design professions. Senator McMillan's call for architectural involvement was primarily motivated by his own political agenda. Congressman Cannon's opposition was based on his steadfast belief that engineers could do the job more efficiently. When the pro-engineer version finally prevailed in June of 1900, it was none other than Joseph Cannon who announced the decision to his fellow congressmen.[266]

4.4 Designs for the Centennial

As noted above, the legislative battle between the Senate and the House resulted in Col. Bingham taking charge of the White House renovation. He also was granted authority to hire a competent landscape architect to redesign the National Mall. After careful consideration, Bingham selected Samuel Parsons, Jr., an accomplished practitioner based out of New York City. Parsons, who apprenticed under Calvert Vaux, had helped found the American Society of Landscape Architects only a year earlier. Like Vaux, Parsons was indebted to the tradition of naturalistic landscape parks. As head landscape architect over the New York City Parks Department, he was responsible for managing the development of Central Park, the picturesque masterpiece designed by Vaux and Frederick Law Olmsted in 1858.

Parsons' proposal, which was submitted in the form of a textual description and a series of illustrations, outlines an expansive landscape park, a complete synthesis of naturalistic and

[266] William Cox, *Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Seat of Government in the District of Columbia* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 203.

formal elements.[267] While the central lawns of the Mall would be organized into series of intersecting ovals, a variety of landscape effects counterbalanced the formal qualities of this composition and insulated the park from the activities of urban life (Fig. 4.11). According to Parsons, the Mall "should be set apart and isolated as completely as art can contrive it from sound and sight of the surrounding city."[268] To this end, Parsons stated that the interior of the park "should be made to suggest woodland and meadow scenery," with any adjacent buildings "screened [by] thickly planted trees."[269] And, if these trees did not sufficiently block out any views of buildings or city streets, then the park edges could be "screened by embankments of earth surmounted by trees on either side."[270] From these descriptions, it is clear that Parsons envisioned the Mall as an inwardly focused pleasure ground, autonomous from its larger urban context. To justify this approach, he turned to the same argument for individual solitude that had been espoused by nineteenth-century intellectuals like Henry David Thoreau and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

> Nor must the need of solitary places be overlooked. For those who wish to wander in seclusion, many walks will be found extending far away from the ovals on the other and more remote territory.[271]

Parsons' proposal for an insulated pleasure ground at the center of the nation's capital represents a departure from earlier conceptions of architectural symbolism. The founders had appropriated Greek architecture as a symbolic reference to the origins of democracy. Yet, Parsons' naturalistic landscape park was the antithesis of the Greek agora. Rather than an open space for public interaction, his scheme would transform the National Mall into a place of quiet introspection. Of course, we know that Parsons' vision did not become a reality. One can only wonder how the

[267] Apparently a model was also under construction, but was not completed by the time of Parsons' report.
[268] Cox, *Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Seat of Government in the District of Columbia,* 324.
[269] Ibid.
[270] Ibid., 325.
[271] Ibid., 326. Whether or not Parsons viewed solitude as a political statement (as Stanton did) is unclear.

course of American history would have changed if the National Mall had been developed as an isolated pleasure ground, rather than an open lawn for democratic congregation.

Beyond its symbolic implications, Parsons' proposal also reveals underlying paradoxes within the disciplinary discourse on site-specificity. On the one hand, Parsons proclaimed that "the landscape should be made to take coherent and artistic shape from the original peculiar genius or idiosyncrasy of the place."[272] However, this ambition seemed to have been hindered by his lack of familiarity with the immediate site and its surrounding context. In his preface to the report, Col. Bingham blamed the inaccuracies of Parsons' drawings on imposed time constraints.

> The plan forwarded herewith has been prepared under pressure time, when the problems involved are considered. For this reason, there are some minor points which it is not intended should be carried out exactly as the appear on the drawings. I refer to cases where it would seem as if existing buildings were to be removed from roadways. These minor departures from accuracy are due to the fact that the draftsmen were not personally familiar with the ground they were delineating.[273]

Such discrepancies between Parsons' plan and the existing context are understandable given the circumstances. Yet, they do raise questions about the actual importance of site-specificity within Parsons' set of priorities. The congressional report suggests that no "accurate" survey of the area involved was ever provided to Parsons and his team of draftsmen.[274] Such a scenario would be intolerable for designers of country houses and gardens, who insisted upon both measured survey drawings and on-site observation.

While Parsons' plan suffered from his lack of familiarity with the existing site, Col. Bingham's redesign of the White House had no such issue. Bingham had been studying the problem of expanding the executive mansion since 1897, long before Congress voted to give him authority over the project.[275] On December 12, 1900, the day of the Centennial Celebration,

[272] Ibid., 324.
[273] Ibid., 321-322.
[274] Ibid., 322.
[275] Ibid., 61.

Bingham was scheduled to present his design to a crowd of distinguished guests in the East Room of the White House. Among those in attendance were President McKinley, his Cabinet members, and several Governors. In the center of the room, on top of an ornate pedestal, sat a plaster model of the White House with Col. Bingham's proposed additions (Fig. 4.12). Upon being introduced by the master of ceremonies, Bingham rose to address the crowd. His speech traced the history of the White House, including commentary on its original designer, James Hoban, as well as the additions proposed during the Harrison administration.

While Bingham's address revealed his expansive knowledge of history, it also highlighted his own education and training as an engineer. Rather than embracing intuition, Bingham approached design as a problem that could be solved systematically. He insisted that "every shape that could be thought of has been drawn out and studied, with the result that what you see before you is regarded as the *best*."[276] In the end, Bingham adopted the general scheme proposed by the Frederick D. Owen, the architect who had worked with Mrs. Harrison roughly a decade earlier. In this scheme, the original White House is preserved in its existing form and flanked on both the east and west sides by curved wings. According to Bingham, this design was "of such a character as not to dwarf nor obscure the present mansion."[277] Instead, he stated in a rather matter-of-fact manner, "architectural harmony has been preserved."[278] Unsurprisingly, the architects saw things differently. Bingham's design was harshly criticized by members of the AIA. However, what really upset them was the simple fact that an engineer, rather than an architect, had been given the opportunity to design the most important building in the United States.[279] With the annual AIA convention scheduled to commence the following afternoon,

[276] Ibid., 62. Emphasis added.
[277] Ibid., 61.
[278] Ibid., 62.
[279] "Editorial Comment," *Brickbuilder* 9, no. 2 (February 1900): 23: "The action of the Fine Arts Union, of Washington City, protesting against the bill introduced into Congress for additions to the White House, deserves the cooperation of all who are

Bingham's proposal added fuel to an already contentious battle for jurisdictional territory. The architects, especially AIA Secretary Glenn Brown, were intent on contesting Bingham's authority over the nation's most symbolic design projects.

4.5 The 1900 AIA Convention

In an effort to challenge Bingham, Glenn Brown had convinced AIA President Robert Peabody to dedicate the 1900 AIA convention entirely to the issue of improving the nation's capital.[280] Since the early months of that year, he had been busy contacting potential speakers and soliciting papers from prominent architects on the topic.[281] In the weeks leading up to the convention, Brown directed members of the AIA to the October issue of *Ladies Home Journal.*[282] There they would find Col. Bingham's "ghastly" plans for the White House renovation. By the time that Bingham unveiled his plaster model to President McKinley and his guests at the Centennial Celebration, the architects' vexation was palpable.

For architects, the situation was especially unnerving because their influence seemed to be waning despite the profession's steady progress. After four decades of continuous growth, the AIA's membership was at an all-time high with 399 Fellows, 117 Associates, 67 Corresponding, and 55 Honorary Members.[283] In addition to securing The Octagon as a permanent location for

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interested in seeing the direction of our national architecture put in proper hands. The protest of the Union is against 'any alteration or addition to the executive mansion being devised or executed without the examination or the advice of an expert commission of architects, landscape architects, and sculptors of national reputation.'"

[280] Brown, "Personal Reminiscences of Charles-Follen McKim: McKim and the Park Commission," 683.

[281] As AIA Secretary, Brown had much more influence than his title might suggest to contemporary readers. Whereas the Institute's constitution stipulated that a President is limited to two years of service, there was no such limitation attached to the role of Secretary. Furthermore, the responsibilities of the Secretary and Treasurer were combined in 1898 when the AIA adopted a new constitution and bylaws. As one historian put it, this change made Brown "the chief operating officer, the chief financial officer, and the chief executive officer." Tony P. Wrenn, "1897-1906: The AIA Moves to and Changes Washington," *AIArchitect: AIA 150 Roling History*, February 2006, http://info.aia.org/aiarchitect/thisweek06/0203/a150_tw020306.htm. In total, Brown served fifteen consecutive terms as Secretary of the AIA, leaving a lasting mark on both the organization and the city of Washington.

[282] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917*, 88.

[283] American Institute of Architects, *Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention, American Institute of Architects, December 12, 13, 14, and 15, 1900* (Washington, DC: Gibson Bros., 1900). The lone exception to this trend of continuous

their headquarters, the organization also established a journal, *AIA Quarterly Bulletin*, to document their activities and promote their expertise to larger society. The Illinois chapter of the AIA had even put enough pressure on their state's legislature to enact the country's first licensure requirement. By the metrics typically used to evaluate professionalization, American architects had passed several important milestones and were nearing a state of "professional maturity."[284] Yet, studying individual professions through this isolated model of linear development provides only a partial glimpse of a much larger dynamic. While each of the above-mentioned milestones represents an important achievement for American architects, this study contends that professional development does not occur independently, but is instead shaped by jurisdictional confrontations with competitors. Col. Bingham's proposed renovation of the White House enlivened one such confrontation between architects and engineers.

The AIA Convention began on the morning of December 13 in the Arlington Hotel on Vermont Avenue, a block north of the White House. President Peabody briefly addressed the attendees before introducing an important guest, Henry B.F. Macfarland, President of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia.[285] Macfarland welcomed the architects to Washington and expressed his interest in hearing their plans for improving the capital city.

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growth came in the aftermath of the 1884 economic panic. Yet, the 1890 merger of the AIA and the WAA quickly restored any losses in membership and reinvigorated the growth trend.

[284] For more on the flawed logic of "professional maturity," see Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 84. "[T]he fundamental assumption of the professionalization literature is incorrect; there is no fixed limit of structure towards which all professions tend. It is clear from the brief discussion here that the mature profession is constantly subdividing under the various pressures of market demands, specialization, and interprofessional competition."

[285] In his address, President Peabody emphasized the importance of city planning and the urgency for architects to answer the call: "As we have passed the stage of constitution-making, as our membership is now large and increasing, and as we have become a strong and well-organized body, we should make sure that we exert properly an influence which now extends from one end to the other of this great country...In the city of Washington the whole country has an admirable object lesson. No city is more full of architectural warnings. None better exemplifies in its buildings what is and what is not architecture. One does not need a professional education to feel mortified at the sight of certain buildings that have been thrust upon these beautiful highways in comparatively recent times, though what architecture is, and of what it is capable is thrown in the face of the most stolid citizen, when his eye is turned beyond the crowded avenue to the green park and long lines of the marble Capitol, and to the great white dome rising grand and noble above them into the morning mists...If great Government buildings are to be scattered about the country, if a boulevard is to traverse the National Capital, if the future buildings for the Government are to be

> We think there is a capacity for improvement that is almost boundless, and we look to you who are the leaders, who are the instructors in this line of thought, to give us...the ideas which we need for the further improvement of the District of Columbia.[286]

For the attendees of the convention, Macfarland's statement was an explicit validation of their jurisdictional claim over the design of the nation's capital. After taking the floor once again to restate the Institute's interest in city planning, President Peabody called forth reports from the numerous AIA committees. Yet, when Peabody called upon the Committee on Applied Arts and Sciences, he was met with an unexpected response. Rather than providing a full report of their annual progress, the committee's chairman, George B. Post, suggested that the committee be disbanded.[287] As a former AIA President, Post knew all too well that eliminating the Committee on Applied Arts and Sciences would require a change to the Institute's Constitution. Nonetheless, he argued that the AIA's funds should be directed toward more worthy causes than a committee dedicated to the operations of various building trades. On the one hand, his suggestion reflects the increased distance between architects and craftsmen resulting from the process of professionalization. At the same time, however, this willingness to let go of certain areas of jurisdiction can be read as a necessary reaction to the Institute's pursuit of a new jurisdiction: namely, the design of cities.[288]

During the evening session, a series of papers were read regarding the specific problem of Washington's future development. Among the presenters were notable architects like Charles Howard Walker, Edgard V. Seeler, and Joseph C. Hornblower, as well the landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and sculptor, H. K. Bush Brown. As Jon Peterson has noted, this

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effectively laced in this beautiful city, if the White House needs to be increased in size, we want each and all of these works carried out by the best artistic skill that the country can produce and by nothing less efficient."

[286] American Institute of Architects, *Proceedings of the 34th Annual Convention*, 2.

[287] Ibid., 34.

[288] After a lengthy exchange between President Peabody and Chairman Post, no further action was taken towards the elimination of the committee. However, the fact that the committee was not disbanded is beside the point. Taken by itself, Post's suggestion of such a dramatic step reveals a great deal about the domino-like reactions that follow from the expansion of jurisdictional boundaries.

meeting was monumental, because it "represented the most advanced discussion of urban design that had ever occurred in the United States."[289] However, the most significant outcomes of the convention did not come as a result of the public presentations, but rather from a few private meetings held between architects and politicians.

While Senator McMillan's initial plan to work with the AIA had been thwarted by Joseph Cannon and the House of Representatives, he was by no means ready to give up the fight. Neither were the architects. The Report of the AIA Board of Directors plainly stated the Institute's position:

> [T]he Board feels that the Institute should put itself on record as advocating the formation of a commission, composed of experts who shall be architects, landscape architects, and sculptors who are recognized by the professions, as well as by the community, as men of skill, intelligence, and experience in such work; to either formulate or approve a plan for the future arrangements of such art features in the National Capital.[290]

Following the Board's suggestion, President Peabody appointed five members, including Glenn Brown, to meet with Senator McMillan and the Board of Trade during the second day of the AIA convention.[291] As Jon Peterson has pointed out, the three parties represented at this meeting—McMillan, the Board of Trade, and the AIA—each had a distinct agenda in mind. The architects wanted a voice in the design of the National Mall and other significant areas around the nation's capital. Senator McMillan was primarily concerned with his railroad legislation aimed at removing tracks from pedestrian crossings and relocating existing terminals. Meanwhile, the Board of Trade members were fixated on the development of a park system for Washington,

[289] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States*, 88.
[290] American Institute of Architects, *Proceedings of the 34th Annual Convention*, 15.
[291] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States*, 89. Peterson notes that it is possible that Charles Moore attended in place of McMillan. The five AIA members were William A. Boring, W.S. Eames, J.R. Coolidge, Jr., George B. Post, and Glenn Brown.

D.C.[292] Despite these differences, all three parties were willing to become allies against Col. Bingham and the ever-powerful Army Corp of Engineers.

The initial outcome of this meeting was that each party altered its own agenda to absorb the concerns of the others. On the following day, the Board of Trade passed a resolution affirming their commitment to the new coalition:

> [T]he Washington Board of Trade earnestly recommend to both Houses of Congress that an appropriate legislative act be passed at the earliest practicable date to authorize the President to appoint a commission of three or five building and landscape architects, each eminent and experienced in his profession, whose duty it shall be to devise and report to Congress suitable and adequate plans for the development of the capital city, in subordination to the plan of its founders, and yet sufficiently expanded in dimensions to typify a century's growth of the Republic.[293]

For their part, the architects had to accept the inclusion of a railway terminal on the National Mall. Ignoring Col. Bingham's presumed jurisdiction over the project, Senator McMillan then devised a political strategy to circumvent the congressional ruling and reclaim authority over the future design of the capital city.

The key factor in McMillan's scheme was his influence on the Committee on the District of Columbia, a subcommittee of the Senate. Whereas the Army Corp of Engineers and the Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds held approval authority over most public improvements, McMillan's position as chairman of the District of Columbia committee gave him a great deal of authority over park matters. So, when his proposal for a committee of artists and architects failed to pass through Congress in January of 1901, he revised his strategy. Following the suggestion of his secretary, Charles Moore, McMillan drafted a resolution that would allocate money from the Senate's Contingency Fund in order to hire a panel of experts as consultants to his District of Columbia committee on matters of park design.[294] The brilliance of this political

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[292] Ibid.
[293] William Cox, "Action of the Washington Board of Trade in Relation to the Park System of the District of Columbia," *Park Improvement Papers*, ed. Charles Moore (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1902), 13.
[294] Reps, *Monumental Washington*, 92.

strategy lies in its sidelining of McMillan's opponents in the House of Representatives. While Joseph Cannon and other House members aligned themselves with the engineers, they had no say in how the Senate should distribute its own Contingency Fund. With this tactical play, the U.S. Senate Park Commission was born.

In order to capitalize on the political influence of McMillan and the Board of Trade, the architects were forced to approach the problem of city planning through the techniques of landscape design. And, while the proposed panel of expert artists and architects would have no official authority, McMillan was willing to wage a bet that the President, Congress, and the general public could be won over by the merits of their proposal. In March of 1901, McMillan and the AIA came together to appoint its team of experts. They chose Daniel Burnham, Charles McKim, and the landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. (Fig. 4.13).[295]

4.6 Planning the Ideal City

In many ways, Daniel Burnham was an obvious choice for the Senate Park Commission. Eight years earlier, in 1893, he served as principal designer for the World's Columbian Exposition. This monumental endeavor, which brought more than 27 million people to Chicago, was ostensibly held to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' arrival in the "New World."[296] For Burnham, however, it was an opportunity to imagine an ideal city.

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[295] Burnham and Olmsted were the original appointees. Together, they agreed that Charles McKim should be the third member. Then, Augustus Saint-Gaudens was added to the commission in August of 1901 at the suggestion of McKim.

[296] In his narrative history of the fair, entitled *The Devil in the White City*, Erik Larson points out that this figure becomes even more staggering when one remembers that the nation's entire population at the time was only 65 million. On Chicago Day alone, over 700,000 people attended the fair. The exposition's success paved the way for other venues of mass spectacle and entertainment, including large-scale amusement parks, such as Coney Island, and professional sports stadiums, such as Ebbets Field in Brooklyn and Municipal Grant Park Stadium (now known as Soldier Field) in Chicago. In addition to the astounding number of attendees, the exposition was also home to some of the largest buildings ever constructed. Larson noted that "a single exhibit hall had enough interior volume to have housed the U.S. Capitol, the Great Pyramid, Winchester Cathedral, Madison Square Garden, and St. Paul's Cathedral, all at the same time." (5) Flowing into, around, and through the massive buildings of the White City were unprecedented systems of infrastructure. Electricity, water, sewage, and transportation provided fairgoers with a glimpse of America's technological future. Erick Larson, *The Devil in the White* City*: Murder, Magic, and Madness at the Fair the Changed America* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2003).

Collaborating with the renowned landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, Burnham set out to create an environment that would leave a strong impression on every person who attended. The "White City," as it came to be known, was an aestheticized rendering of urbanity, replete with grand statuary, Neoclassical architecture, and a variety of water features. With its emphasis on beauty, monumentality, and nature, Burnham's design for the Columbian Exposition was a manifesto for the soon-to-come City Beautiful movement.

Like Burnham, Charles McKim and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. were also involved in the World's Columbian Exposition. McKim's Agriculture Building was one of the largest and most grandiose examples of neoclassical architecture at the fair (Fig. 4.14). Inside this 400,000 square foot structure were thousands of exhibits that ranged from the exotic to the mundane, including displays of tobacco, farm animals, and even weather phenomena. Olmsted's involvement came in assisting his father, who was nearing the end of his career. Together, they devised a holistic approach to landscape design, which included terraces and scenic walkways, as well as artificial islands and lagoons.[297] Their efforts were instrumental in elevating the status of landscape architecture within the popular imagination. As discussed in Chapter Three, landscape architects would eventually organize and establish their own professional body, the American Society of Landscape Architects, with John Charles Olmsted serving as their first president.[298]

Despite its impressive infrastructure and beauty, the White City had very little to say about the realities of an industrial metropolis. The sounds and smells that permeated the air of the Chicago stockyards were nowhere to be found within the exposition. There were displays

[297] For contemporary reactions to the fairgrounds, see "The General Design of the Columbian Fair Grounds," *Garden and Forest*, June 15, 1892, 278 and "Landscape-gardening at the Columbian Fair," *Garden and Forest*, December 6, 1893, 501-502.
[298] While John Charles Olmsted is often described as Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.'s brother, their familial relation was somewhat more convoluted than that. John Charles Olmsted was actually the son of Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr.'s brother. After John Charles' father died of Tuberculosis in 1857, Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. married his brother's widow and adopted John Charles along with his other two nephews. Then, Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. and his new bride had children of their own—among them was Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. The end result of this series of events was that John Charles Olmsted and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. were simultaneously cousins, half-brothers, and step-brothers. They chose to simplify matters when they opened their own landscape architecture practice in 1898, calling themselves Olmsted Brothers.

devoted to consumer pleasures, but no factories for manufacture and production—the industrial infrastructures that had helped establish Chicago in the first place. Embedded within Burnham's design for the exposition was an anti-industrial ethos, which implied that pleasure and production should be kept separate from one another.[299] The exposition could have been seen as an opportunity to reflect on questions related to public health or the distribution of housing and jobs. But that was not the case. Instead, the exposition's planners created a fantasyland—an ideal city.

Knowing their work at the Chicago World's Fair, Senator McMillan should have anticipated that Burnham, McKim, and Olmsted would prioritize monumentality and spectacle in the redesign of Washington, D.C. Apparently, he did not. As Jon Peterson has shown, McMillan and his fellow committee member, Senator Jacob H. Gallinger, urged the designers to avoid schemes that were too comprehensive or extravagant.[300] From their perspectives, McMillan and Gallinger believed that a tentative and restrained plan would be more likely to garner political support from Congress. However, the designers, especially Burnham, were not accustomed to tempering their creative impulses. Instead, they embarked on a grand European tour to visit the most spectacular urban centers and understand what they deemed as the proper relation between parks and public buildings. The irony of this excursion, of course, was that the exemplary historic cities to which they traveled for inspiration were not the creations of architects or landscape architects. Instead, they were largely designed and organized by engineers, operating on behalf of the State. Despite this fact, Burnham, McKim, and Olmsted continued their research under the impression that they were better equipped than the Army Corp of Engineers to address the problems of city planning in Washington.

[299] Ironically, these aspects of the White City foreshadowed future changes within American cities, including the departure of industry and manufacturing.
[300] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States*, 91.

Shortly after the Senate Park Commission returned to the United States, the country faced a grave tragedy. On September 6, 1901, a young anarchist assassinated President McKinley who was attending the Temple of Music at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. Following his death, Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt was sworn in as President at age forty-two, making him the youngest person to ever hold the office. Such an unfortunate turn of events cast an entirely different light on the prospect of designing a space symbolic of American democracy.

With the nation still grieving, the Senate Park Commission continued with their work, eventually deciding to divide up the multiple components of their proposal. It was determined that McKim would take charge of the National Mall, as well as the arrangement of buildings that flanked either side.[301] Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. focused on developing a park system for the District of Columbia. As chairman of the committee, Burnham's role was not limited to an individual component. Instead, his time was spent reviewing plans by McKim and Olmsted, as well as meeting with powerful business leaders to gain their support for the project. In this last regard, Burnham proved especially useful. For instance, he was instrumental in convincing the President of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to build their new terminal north of the Capitol Building, rather than on the National Mall as McMillan's original bargain proposed.[302]

After a year's worth of designing, the Commission accepted an invitation to display their plans at the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington. This exhibition, scheduled for January 15, 1902, would be the first public unveiling of the work. McKim took on the responsibility of designing the exhibit and supervising its installation. From his New York office, he drafted plans

[301] Reps, *Monumental Washington,* 99. Although, it should be noted that Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. was the first designer to suggest that the Mall be an open lawn rather than an avenue or boulevard. For more on this matter, see Witold Rybczynski, "A Simple Space of Turf: Frederick Law Olmsted Jr.'s Idea for the Mall" in *The National Mall: Rethinking Washington's Monumental Core,* ed. N. Glazer and C. R. Field, 55-65 (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2008).
[302] Reps, *Monumental Washington*, 98. As Reps notes, this decision to relocate the terminal was largely influenced by a merger between the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company.

to indicate where each item should be displayed in the gallery.[303] As Glenn Brown would later recall, McKim's perfectionist tendencies led to several last minute changes, including rearranging drawings and draping unbleached cotton to produce a false ceiling.[304] Perhaps the most striking feature of the exhibition was the scale model constructed by George C. Curtis of Boston (Fig. 4.15). This model, which was so large that it had to be viewed from an elevated platform, displayed the formal unity of the proposal in striking detail. As a whole, the exhibition revealed the expansive vision of the Senate Park Commission. Despite McMillan's warning, they had produced a design that was both comprehensive and grandiose. In a sense, they had designed another White City (Fig. 4.16 – 4.17).

President Roosevelt and his Cabinet were the first guests allowed in to tour the exhibit. McMillan's secretary, Charles Moore, guided them through the various displays.[305] After a few minutes of observation and reflection, President Roosevelt announced his appreciation and approval of the scheme.[306] The reception from other attendees and the newspapers was largely positive as well.[307] With this exhibition, McMillan and the architects had gone a long way toward swaying the tides of public opinion. Their proposal for the redesign of Washington, D.C. was now the presumptive plan of action. Yet, their work was far from done. The path toward enacting their plan would be obstructed by numerous opponents, old and new, who refused to recognize the Commission's authority on matters of city planning.

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[303] Ibid., 105.
[304] Brown, "Personal Reminiscences of Charles-Follen McKim: McKim and the Park Commission," 682.
[305] The importance of Theodore Roosevelt, a reformer, being elected as President should not be overlooked. As numerous historians have noted, Roosevelt had a deep appreciation for nature and the personal outlook to entertain big ideas. His support for the McMillan Plan was a most critical factor for its successful implementation.
[306] Reps, *Monumental Washington*, 107.
[307] Ibid., 143. Unsurprisingly, the plan had several opponents in the House of Representatives, most notably Speaker Joseph Cannon. While some were put off by the expansiveness and idealism of the project, Jon Peterson notes that Cannon objected because he "self-righteously claimed to not have been consulted." Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States*, 96.

4.7 Battle Lines

Even with the support of President Roosevelt, the future of the Senate Park Commission's plan for Washington, D.C. was uncertain. Since it had not been approved by both houses of Congress, the plan was never officially sanctioned. The death of Senator McMillan, the plan's most vocal proponent, in 1902 further complicated matters. And while the District of Columbia committee continued to lobby for the plan and the group of architects and artists who created it, their authority was limited to park matters. The location of federal building projects was overseen by the Senate Committee on Public Building and Grounds in association with the Army Corp of Engineers. This distribution of authority threatened the Park Commission's plan, nearly destroying it before it ever had a chance of being implemented.

One of the first major challenges to the Senate Park Commission's plan came in 1904, when Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson, proposed siting the new Department of Agriculture building in the center of the Mall. To contemporary readers, such proposition might seem radical in its ambivalence to the larger organization of Washington, D.C. However, one must keep in mind that the Mall, as it is known today, is the result of a comprehensive effort undertaken during the 1930s. In 1904, the east-west axis between the U.S. Capitol Building and the Washington Monument was already interrupted by numerous obstructions, including the Smithsonian gardens and the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad terminal (Fig. 4.17). Fortunately, there was enough public support for the grand vision offered by the McMillan Plan (as it soon came to be called) to prevent any new construction on the Mall. Reacting to this public outcry, the Department of Agriculture moved the location of their building 300 feet off of the center of the Mall. While such a revision was certainly preferable to the original proposal, it still

encroached upon 450-foot setback that the Senate Park Commission had established in their plan (Fig. 4.18).[308]

Since the Senate Park Commission had no real authority over the location of federal buildings, they were not initially informed about the placement of the Department of Agriculture building. Instead, it was President Roosevelt and the Senate Committee of the District of Columbia (headed by Senator Jacob Gallinger) who visited the site to approve the proposal. Prior to their arrival, the engineers had staked out the line of the building in order to prove that the remaining area of the Mall would be "wide enough for anything."[309] This characterization is important, because it demonstrates the different value systems that each profession projects upon their work. The engineers clearly understood the National Mall in functional terms—they were concerned with what kinds of activities would be possible within that strip of ground. For them, 300 feet seemed perfectly satisfactory, because, as they said, it was "wide enough for anything." The architects and landscape architect who comprised the Senate Park Commission, on the other hand, had envisioned the Mall as a unified composition and were, therefore, deeply invested in the proportional relationship between the buildings that lined either side of the Mall, as well as the Capitol building on the eastern axis. For them, the 450-foot setback was crucial to the overall visual effect. Altering the Mall's width, they argued, would seriously compromise the aesthetic beauty and harmony of their scheme.

While Roosevelt wholeheartedly supported the Senate Park Commission's plan, he did not possess the artistic training to realize the fundamental importance of the 450-foot setback. For this reason, he inadvertently approved the building's location, agreeing that the residual space was, indeed, "wide enough for anything." Upon hearing of the Department of

[308] Brown, "Personal Reminiscences of Charles-Follen McKim: McKim and the Park Commission," 685-688.
[309] Ibid., 685.

Agriculture's building plans, Glenn Brown quickly informed the rest of the Senate Park Commission. As the primary designer of the Mall area of the plan, Charles McKim set out to rectify the situation, eventually convincing Senator Francis Newlands of Nevada to hold a hearing on the issue before the Senate's District of Columbia committee.[310] On the surface, this hearing was an opportunity for the Senate Park Commission to lay out its case for the 450-foot setback. However, in another sense, the issue at stake was much larger. The testimony delivered by members of the Senate Park Commission would arouse debate over which group of design professionals held the proper expertise to take the reigns as leaders of the American city planning movement. Recognizing the significance of the event, the Park Commission pulled out all the stops. The entire suite of drawings depicting the Mall section of the plan were hung in the committee room, in addition to a series of new sketches illustrating the damaging effects of the Department of Agriculture's existing proposal.[311] Among those who testified were McKim, Saint-Gaudens, George Post, and Frank Millet. But the most persuasive comments came from the Chairman of the Senate Park Commission, Daniel Burnham, who recounted their extensive study of the problem. In addition to testing multiple widths and proportions for the Mall, Burnham reminded those in attendance that the commission had traveled to see the great capital cities of Europe. In this way, the dimensions of the plan, including the 450-foot setback, were precisely calculated based on their research in order to achieve the most desirable effect.

> We propose a great open vista and that vista is the great architectural feature if we may speak of landscape work as architectural. The centre is to be grass, like a green carpet with roadways on each side, overhung by trees. The width of the Mall from building to building is a little greater than the length of the Capitol, as it should be. The Mall buildings form the architectural lines which lead up to the Capitol….If the Mall were short, a narrow parkway two hundred feet in

[310] Reps, *Monumental Washington*, 146-147. McKim first called upon Secretary of War, William Howard Taft, for assistance. Taft initially believed that he had jurisdiction over the project, but soon discovered that the authority laid in the hands of the Secretary of Agriculture and President Roosevelt. For his part, President Roosevelt admitted his regret for having approved the location without completely understanding the setback discrepancy. Reluctant to reverse his decision, however, Roosevelt instructed McKim to take up the issue with the Senate.
[311] Brown, "Personal Reminiscences of Charles-Follen McKim: McKim and the Park Commission," 685.

> width could be made, but such a narrow parkway would appear mean and insignificant in a park of the length and magnitude of the Washington Mall.[312]

Within Burnham's testimony, divisions between architecture and landscape architecture disappear. As discussed in the previous chapter, these two professional bodies were concurrently experimenting with collaborative models for practice in the design of country houses and gardens. Burnham's argument for the unity of architecture and landscape in the nation's capital echoes the sentiments expressed by both architects and landscape architects in regard to residential development.

Apparently, the District of Columbia committee was persuaded by the Senate Park Commission's presentation and argument. Not only did the committee vote to "disapprove" of the Department of Agriculture's current proposal, but they also introduced a Senate resolution that would forbid any future construction on the Mall inside of the McMillan plan's 450-foot setback.[313] In short succession, the Senate passed the resolution and President Roosevelt ordered the engineers to reposition the Department of Agriculture building in compliance with the plan. Such a chain of events was a clear vindication of the Senate Park Commission. Yet, the feelings of victory would once again be short-lived. The engineer in charge of the project, with the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture, disregarded the orders and began work on the building's foundations inside of the approved setback. Further compounding the situation was the fact that the building was being constructed roughly a hundred feet east and eight feet above the position and grade level that the McMillan plan suggested. After visiting the site, McKim was especially unnerved by the raise in grade level:

> One of the most important elements in the Mall plan is the continuous up grade from the Grant Statue to the Washington Monument; any grade leading first up and then down would have the effect of shortening the vista and of cutting off portions of the Monument. If the Agriculture

[312] Charles Moore, *Daniel H. Burnham: Architect, Planner of Cities Volume I* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1921), 225.
[313] Reps, *Monumental Washington,* 147.

> Building is erected as they propose, it will establish a hill that will destroy the effect of the Mall.[314]

As Glenn Brown later recounted, McKim was so upset over the placement of the foundations that he threatened to resign from the Senate Park Commission entirely.[315]

Tensions came to a head when President Roosevelt arranged a meeting between McKim, Secretary Wilson, and the Engineer Officer in charge of construction. After hearing McKim lay out his case for why the building should be moved and lowered, President Roosevelt unleashed a harsh critique of architects and their recklessness with government funds.[316] Roosevelt was especially annoyed by the "lack of consideration shown by architects in coming to him proposing changes in work that was well under way."[317] Such a characterization of the architect as a frivolous idealist was not new. It was the same language that Representative Joseph Cannon had used to argue against the Tarsney Act several years earlier. To everyone's surprise, however, President Roosevelt then turned to the Secretary of Agriculture and reaffirmed the architect's authority over matters of design:

> Mr. Secretary, although the architect has not shown consideration for material things this matter is very important in the after effect on the landscape, and as I think him more capable of judging what these effects will be than we are, I believe it will be better to trust his judgment; if you don't object we will give way to him.[318]

Once the President had spoken, little else could be done. Secretary Wilson acquiesced to Roosevelt's wishes and the Department of Agriculture building was relocated in accordance with the McMillan Plan.

Gradually, over the next several decades, the Senate Park Commission's vision for Washington became a reality. Following the President Roosevelt's decree, the placement of the

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[314] As quoted in Brown, "Personal Reminiscences of Charles-Follen McKim: McKim and the Park Commission," 688.
[315] Brown, "Personal Reminiscences of Charles-Follen McKim: McKim and the Park Commission," 688.
[316] Reps, *Monumental Washington*, 149.
[317] Brown, "Personal Reminiscences of Charles-Follen McKim: McKim and the Park Commission," 688.
[318] Brown, "Personal Reminiscences of Charles-Follen McKim: McKim and the Park Commission," 688.

Department of Agricultural Building marked the southern edge of the Mall. On the northern side, the new Smithsonian Museum also held the proper line suggested by the Commission. After 1901, no building would ever be constructed within this established perimeter.[319]

4.8 The Legacy of the Senate Park Commission

Given the Mall's present status as a monumental stage for American democracy, contemporary readers might be tempted to view the success of the Senate Park Commission as inevitable. However, their plan for Washington, D.C. was surrounded by controversy and uncertainty throughout the early decades of the twentieth century. For this reason, the significance of President Roosevelt's support cannot be overstated. Speaking at a dinner hosted by the American Institute of Architects in 1905, Roosevelt reaffirmed his commitment to the plan and established a precedent for future Presidents to follow:

> [W]henever hereafter a public building is provided for and erected, it should be erected in accordance with a carefully thought-out plan adopted long before, and...it should be not only beautiful in itself, but fitting in its relations to the whole scheme of the public buildings, the parks and the drives of the District.[320]

On his final day in office, Roosevelt even issued an executive order that established a Council of Fine Arts to approve all public building plans. Among those appointed to this Council were the original members of the Senate Park Commission: Burnham, McKim, and Olmsted.[321]

Despite support from the President and much of the general public, the McMillan Plan still had staunch opponents throughout the early decades of the twentieth century. Most notable among these critics was Speaker of the House, Joseph Cannon. With each installment of the plan,

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[319] During the early twentieth century, the existing buildings on the Mall would each be individually demolished and relocated according to the McMillan plan. The lone exception is the historic Smithsonian Institute Building (The Castle), which intrudes upon the Mall setback still today.

[320] As quoted in Reps, *Monumental Washington*, 150.

[321] Reps, *Monumental Washington,* 153. President Taft abolished the Council on the grounds that it should have been created through proper legislative process rather than executive order. Shortly thereafter, Congress passed legislation to establish the National Commission of Fine Arts, which continues to exist today.

Cannon rallied the opposition. Historians of the McMillan Plan tend to portray Cannon as an antagonizing figure, ignorant of artistic expertise. Yet, beneath his scathing attacks on the AIA lies a cogent reasoning, which deserves sincere contemplation. For instance, Cannon's objection to the siting of the Grant Memorial was based on the fact that the Commission's plan would require the removal of the old Botanical gardens. Within these gardens, critics noted, were several trees that had been planted as peace memorials.[322] In regard to the Lincoln Memorial, Cannon's objection was once again prompted by its proposed site. As Elihu Root would later recall, Cannon barged into his office to exclaim that he would "never let a memorial to Abraham Lincoln be erected in that God damned swamp."[323] From these two examples, it is clear that Cannon was intimately familiar with the existing landscape of Washington, D.C. He knew the high land from the low land, the symbolic trees from the ordinary. From his vantage point, the McMillan plan was a formalist scheme devised without consideration for the existing context. In their obsessive quest for comprehensive unity, Cannon argued, the Senate Park Commission had neglected common sense at the local scale. And Cannon was not alone in this critique of the Commission. During a meeting of the House of Representatives in 1910, one congressman declared that a "future place will never be hot enough to properly singe a man for the present Agricultural Department constructed as it is."[324] This dramatic statement referred to McKim's demand that the building level be lowered in order to conform to the desired visual effect of the Mall. The end result was that the first floor of the Agricultural Department was now below grade, or "sunk in a hole" as many occupants often complained.[325]

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[322] Ibid., 152.
[323] As quoted in Reps, *Monumental Washington*, 155.
[324] As quoted in Reps, *Monumental Washington*, 154.
[325] Ironically, architects were adamant about responding to the existing condition when it came to Country House and Garden design (see previous chapter). Perhaps their jurisdictional dispute with the Army Corp of Engineers, who likely would have done the required surveying, led them to take a less contextually-driven approach in the redesign of Washington, D.C.

Ultimately, this prioritization of aesthetic beauty and compositional harmony above all else represents the true legacy of the Senate Park Commission. Their proposal for an ideal city, another World's Fair, inspired a wave of similar city planning efforts across the country. Often labeled as the City Beautiful Movement, this specific conception of city planning reshaped cities like Cleveland, Kansas City, and Denver during the early twentieth century.[326] Some of these efforts were led by Burnham, who continued to accept city planning commissions in addition to serving as chairman of the Fine Arts Commission in Washington.[327] McKim, on the other hand, focused primarily on designing buildings—rather than cities—after finishing his work with the Senate Park Commission. Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., the youngest member of the Commission, diverged from the idealism of the McMillan plan in order to study and improve the realities of urban life. His involvement in the parallel development of landscape architecture and city planning is chronicled in the following chapter.

The jurisdictional battle between architects and engineers over the redesign of Washington, D.C. had implications that extended far beyond the nation's capital. Both sides were fully aware that the outcome would establish a precedent for future city planning efforts. The engineers' case rested upon their experience with large-scale projects, such as sanitary reform and railroad surveying. The architects, on the other hand, argued that city planning was an artistic problem for which they were uniquely qualified. At the heart of this jurisdictional contest was an ideological divide that pitted aesthetic effect against function and efficiency. While both sides produced design proposals, the shrewd political savvy of Senator McMillan ultimately allowed the

[326] For a more detailed account of the City Beautiful Movement, see William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1989).
[327] For contemporary accounts of Burnham's work as a city planner, see William E. Parsons, "Burnham as a Pioneer in City Planning, *Architectural Record* 38, no. 1 (July 1915): 13-32, and Herbert Croly, "The Promised City of San Francisco," *Architectural Record* 19, no. 6 (June 1906): 425-436.

architects to claim victory.[328] Tensions between the competing architects and engineers came to head, however, when the Department of Agriculture Building was placed inside of the Senate Park Commission's recommended setback. In the end, President Roosevelt sided with the architects, reaffirming their authority over the organization of large urban systems (at least for the moment).

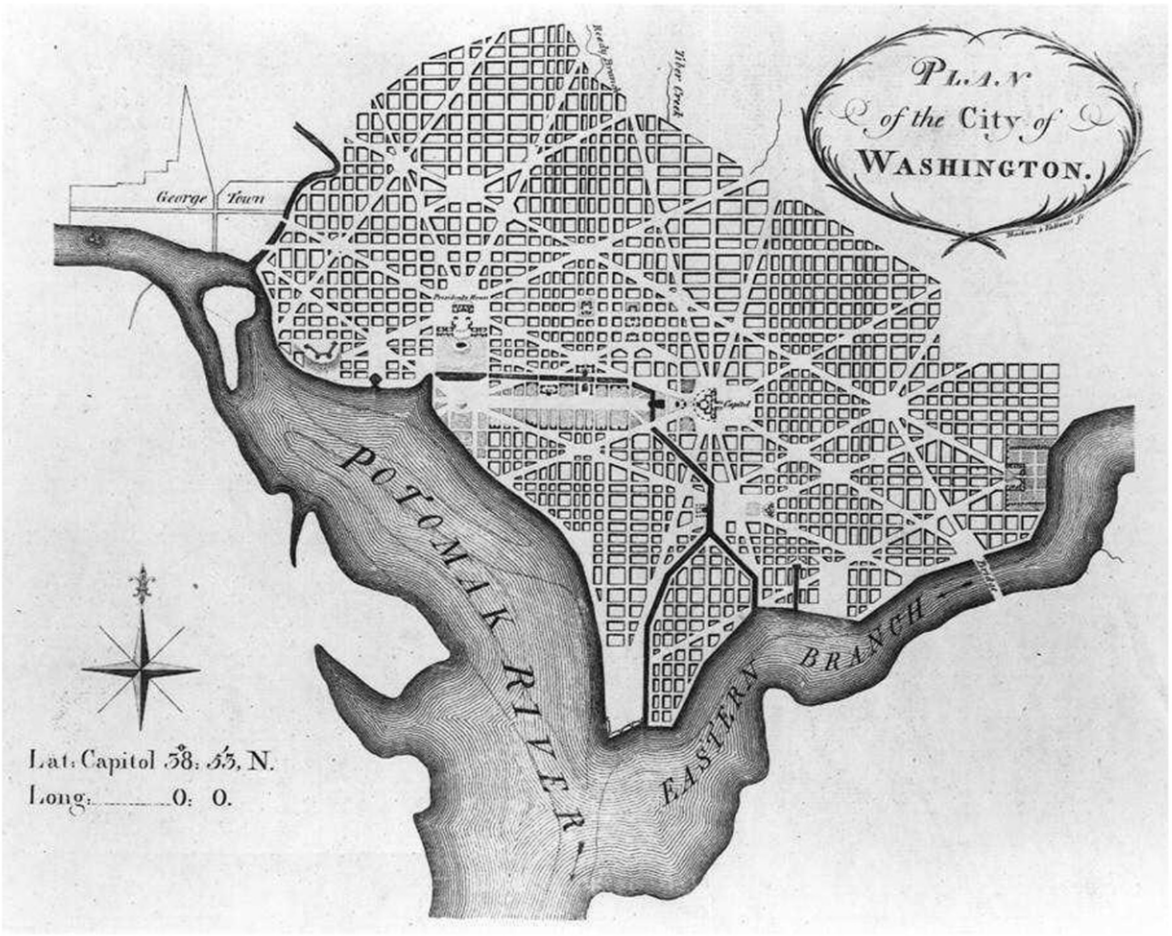
The comprehensive plan developed by the Burnham, McKim, and Olmsted, Jr. demonstrates a particularly idealistic vision for American cities. Through its monumental axes and grand vistas, the McMillan plan recast urban form according to the principles of beauty, harmony, and spectacle. At the same time, this approach to city planning neglected to address the realities of urban life. Even after their extensive research of the problem, the Senate Park Commission had very little to say about the *real* city of Washington, D.C that existed beyond the symbolic core. Nonetheless, their design has had a lasting impact on American history. One can hardly think about the National Mall without recalling such important events as the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, the Vietnam War Moratorium Rally of 1969, or the exhibition of the AIDS quilt, which covered the entirety of the Mall in October of 1996. After a long and hard fought battle, Burnham, McKim, and Olmsted, Jr. had succeeded in providing the country with an open stage for democracy to evolve (Fig. 4.19). In the wake of their victory, however, another jurisdictional confrontation developed from within their own alliance. As landscape architects began to codify their own educational pathways and areas of expertise in the early twentieth century, they too sought to absorb the design of cities under their jurisdiction. Taking a stance that combined artistic sensibility with pragmatic realism, the landscape

[328] The fact McMillan had authority over park matters strongly influenced the approach taken by Burnham, McKim, and Olmsted, Jr. In his public testimony to the District of Columbia committee, Burnham emphasized the unity of architecture and landscape—a sentiment expressed by other architects regarding American country houses and gardens.

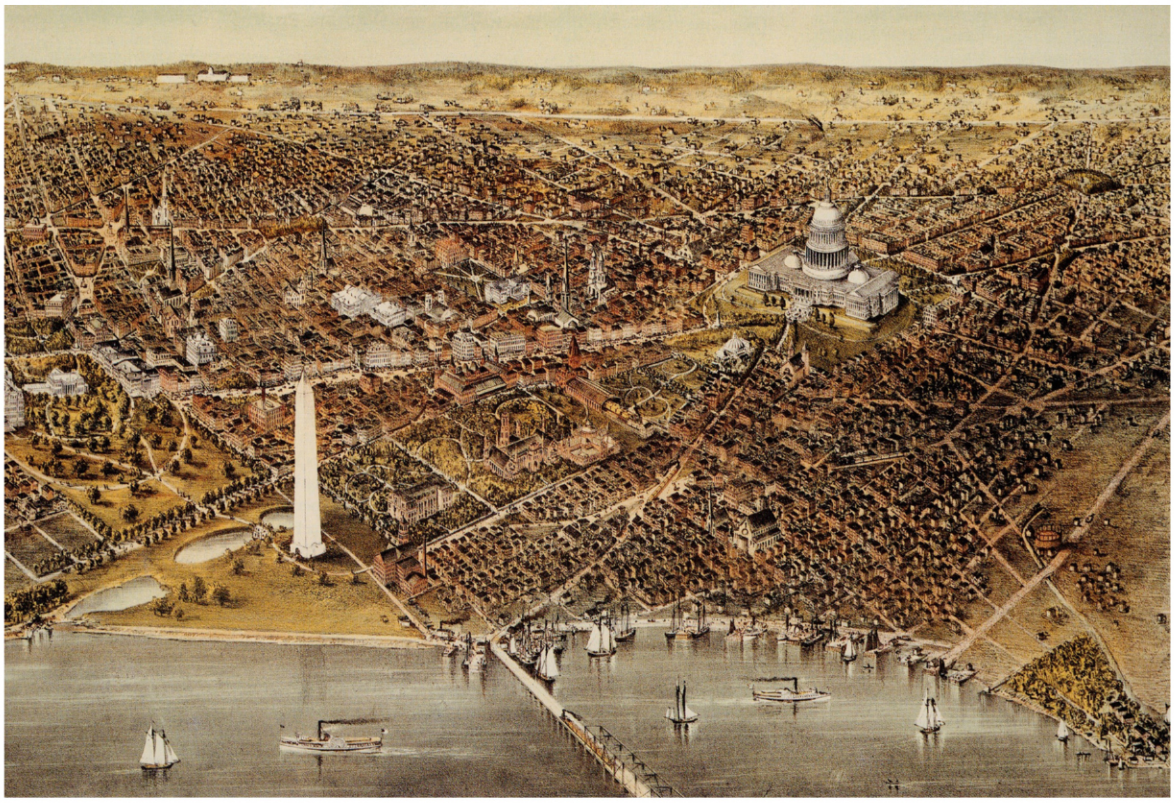
architects offered a new approach to urban planning that could compete with both the engineers' City Efficient and the architects' City Beautiful.

[Fig. 4.1] Glenn Brown, Secretary of the AIA.

[Fig. 4.2] Charles McKim

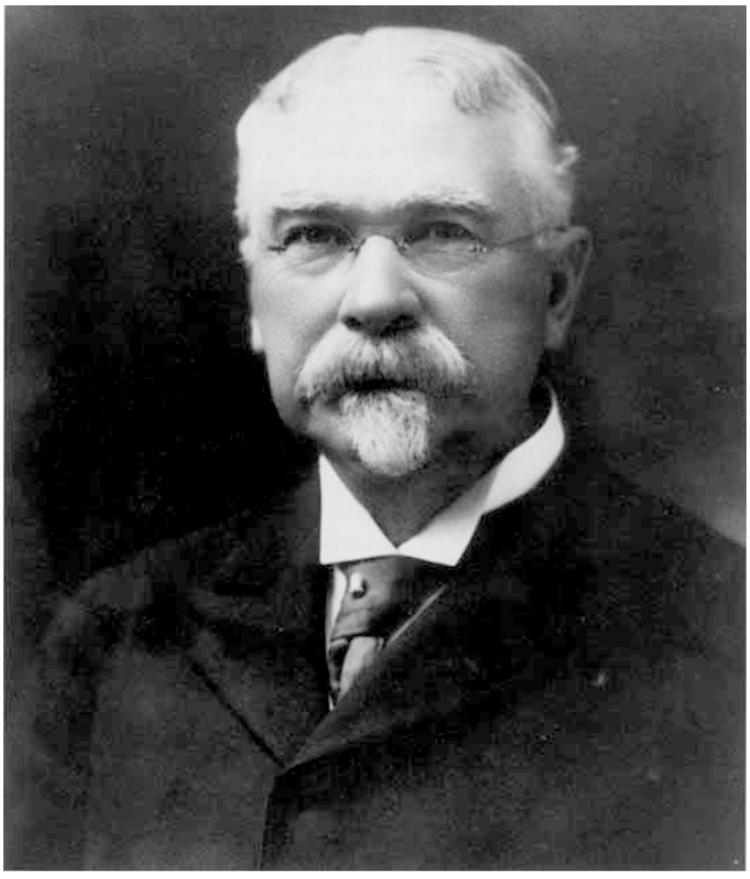


[Fig. 4.3] Plan for Washington, D.C. developed by Pierre L'Enfatnt in 1791.



[Fig. 4.4] Bird's eye view of Washington, D.C. as it appeared in 1892.

[Fig. 4.5] The Octagon House, acquired by the American Institute of Architects in 1902.

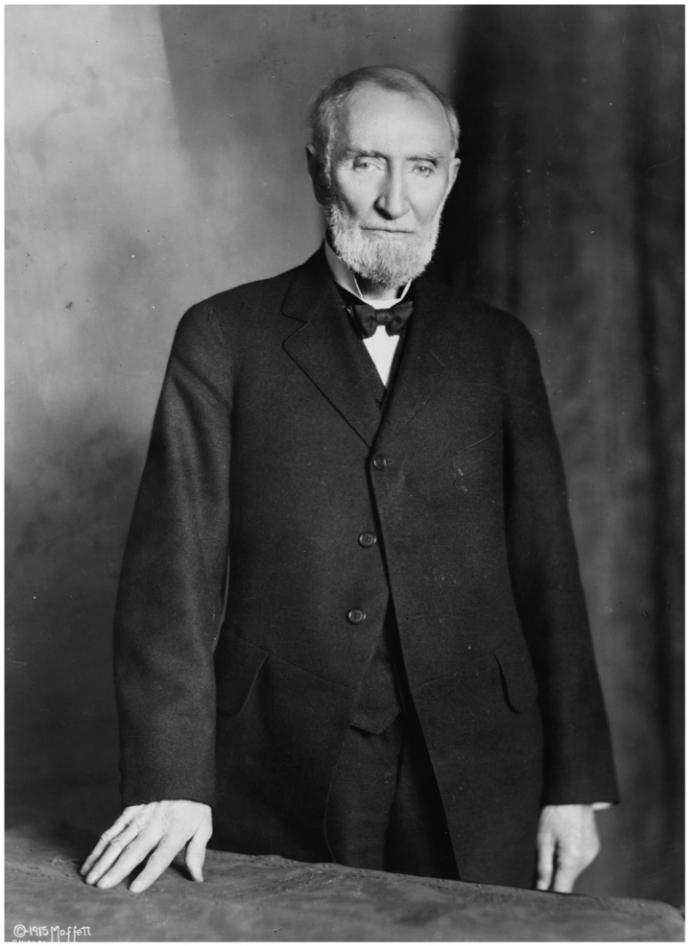


[Fig. 4.6] Senator James McMillan

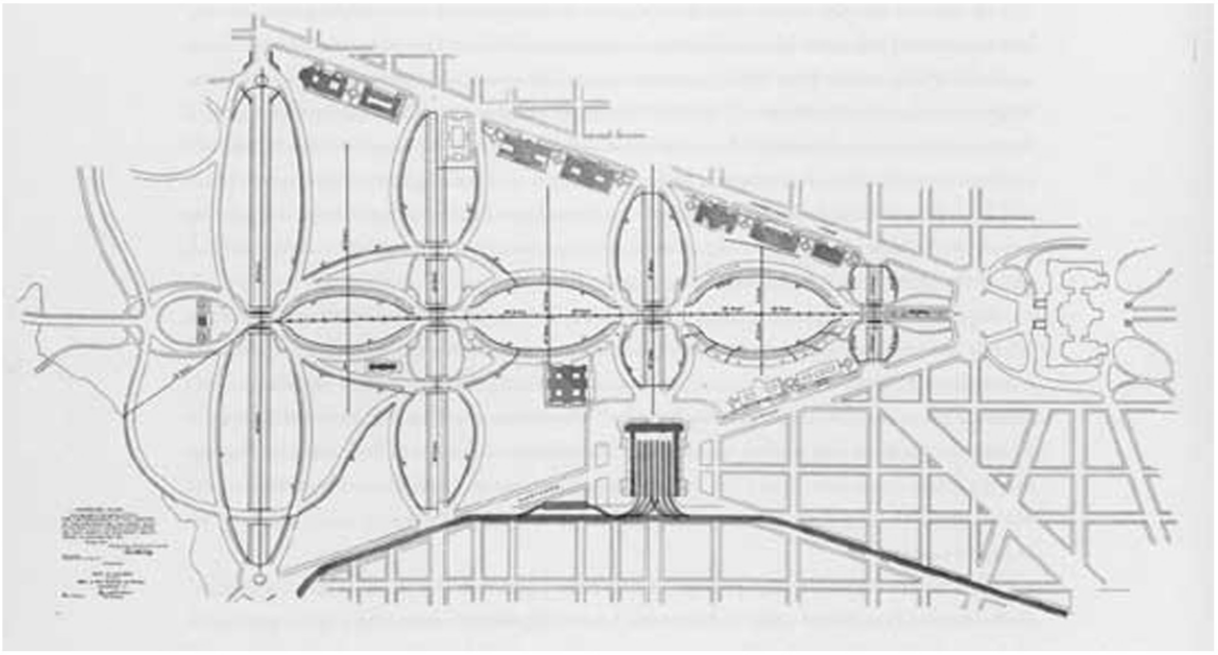
[**Fig. 4.7**] Col. Theodore Bingham

[**Fig. 4.8**] United States Custom House in New York City, designed by Cass Gilbert.

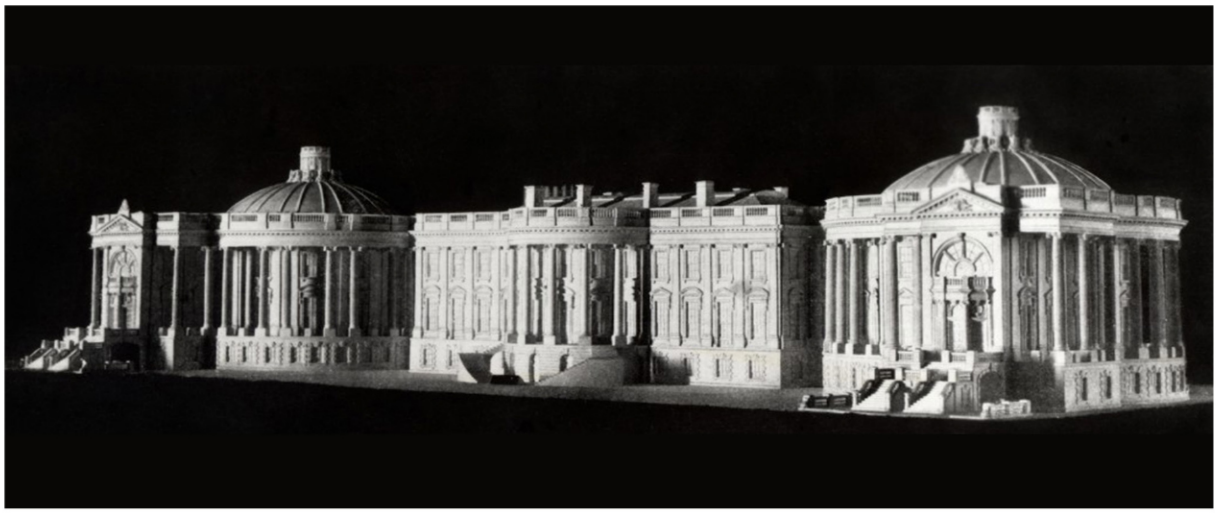
[**Fig. 4.9**] United States Post Office and Federal Court Buidling in Baltimore, designed by Wyatt & Nolting.



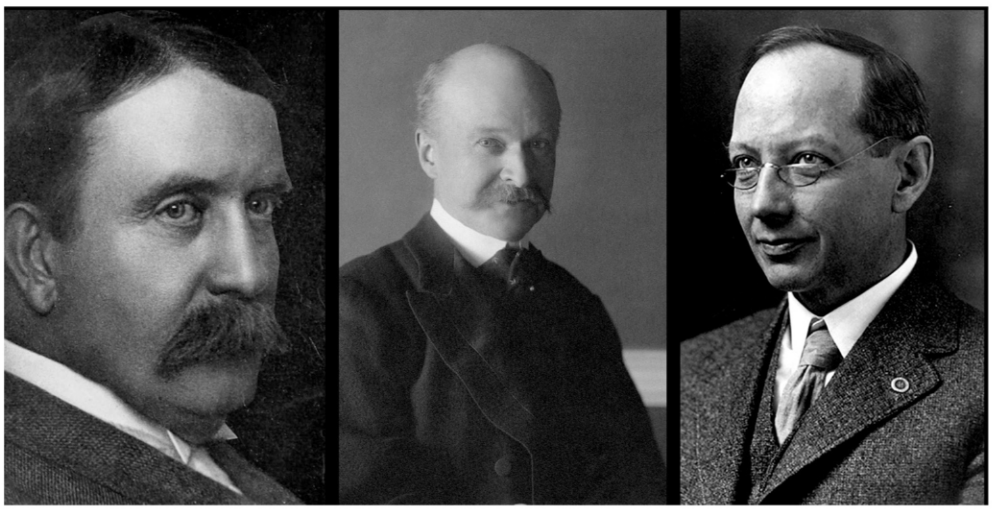
[**Fig. 4.10**] Speaker of the House, Joseph Cannon



[**Fig. 4.11**] Samuel Parsons, Jr.'s Plan for the National Mall



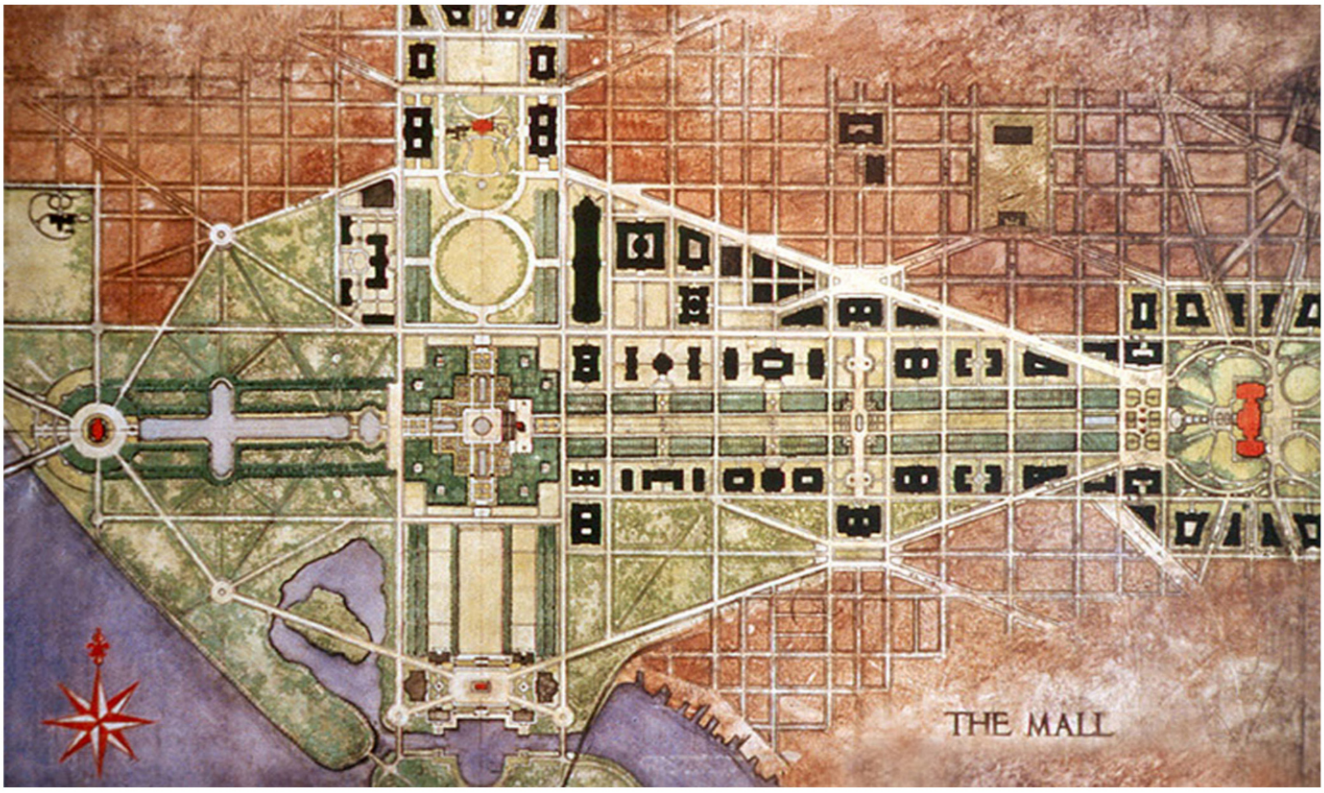
[**Fig. 4.12**] Plaster model of Col. Theodore Bingham's proposed addition to the White House



[**Fig. 4.13**] The Senate Park Commission, (from left to right) Burnham, McKim, and Olmsted

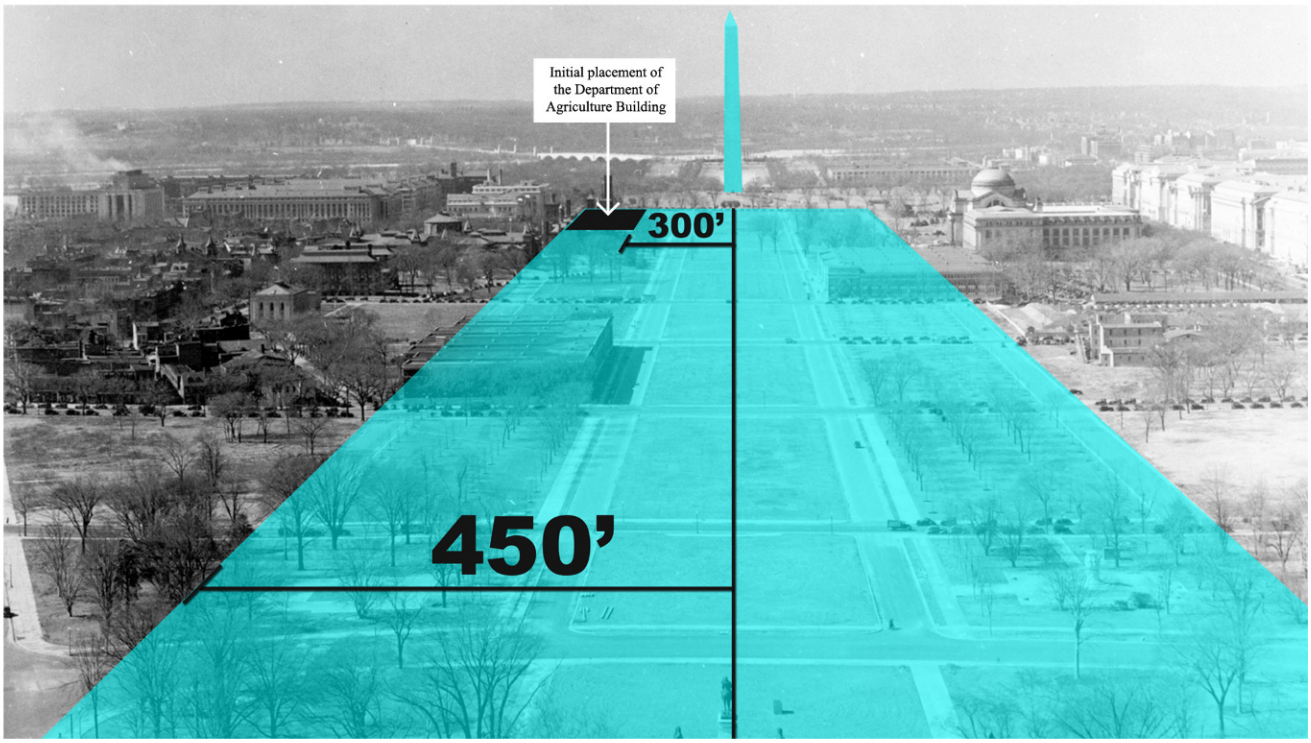
[Fig. 4.14] Agriculture Building at the World's Columbian Exposition, designed by McKim, Mead, and White

[Fig. 4.15] Team working on the scale model of the Senate Park Commission's plan for Washington, D.C.



[**Fig. 4.16**] Senate Park Commission's plan for the National Mall.

[**Fig. 4.17**] The National Mall as it appeared at the turn of the twentieth century.



[**Fig. 4.18**] Diagram showing the Senate Park Commission’s proposed 450-foot setback from the centerline of the Mall and the initial placement of the Department of Agriculture building within this setback.

[**Fig. 4.19**] The National Mall as it appeared in the late twentieth century.

CHAPTER 5. REALITIES

While the City Beautiful movement continued to flourish throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century, a different approach emerged in parallel, which placed its emphasis on solving practical problems of urban life rather than proposing grand, monumental plans. Proponents of this approach, including Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. and James Sturgis Pray, argued that city planning should begin not by imagining ideals, but instead, by measuring realities. For landscape architects, this new conception of the City Practical was an opportunity to distinguish themselves from architects and solidify their own professional identity. This chapter traces the origins and professional development of landscape architecture through an examination of organizations, education pathways, and publications. Whereas nineteenth-century landscape practitioners rose to prominence through park design, twentieth-century landscape architects pivoted toward city planning, claiming this area of expertise as a defining component of their discipline.

Landscape architecture came into full formation through the establishment of the American Society of Landscape Architecture (ASLA) in 1899 and the creation of a degree program at Harvard University in 1900. Within the next decade, landscape architects had a professional journal of their own as well: *Landscape Architecture Magazine*. By focusing their efforts on the practical problems of the city—street layout, land subdivision, lot sizing, and so on—landscape architects were able to successfully compete against the older professions of architecture and civil engineering in the area of urban planning. Interestingly, the strongest jurisdictional challenge to the landscape architects' newfound authority came from outside of the system of design professions. Led by Benjamin C. Marsh, a group of social reformers took up

the question of city planning through the establishment of the National Conference on City Planning (NCCP). Responding to this insurgence, landscape architects banded together to reaffirm their authority over the urban environment. In making their case, the landscape architects pointed to their unique ability to synthesize engineering's drive for efficiency and architecture's attention to aesthetic beauty.

5.1 The Origins of Landscape Architecture

In order to understand the professional development of landscape architecture in the United States, it is necessary to study its pre-professional roots. The origins of American landscape design can be traced to the mid-nineteenth century, when landscape parks were created to counteract the perceived threat of urbanization.[329] Undergirding these park proposals was a nineteenth-century ideological framework that associated natural landscapes with moral purity and healthfulness, while associating industrial cities with corruption and disease.[330] The psychological and physiological implications of this dichotomy reverberated throughout

[329] Urban landscape parks were by no means the first critical response to cities in the United States. In fact, a strong anti-urban sentiment has resided deep within the American imaginary since the Colonial period. (See, for instance, Thomas Jefferson's comment in a letter to James Madison: "I think our governments will remain virtuous for many centuries; as long as they are chiefly agricultural; and this will be as long as there shall be vacant lands in any part of America. When they get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, they will become corrupt as in Europe." *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 12:442; Context: 1787 December 20.). The emergence of industrialized cities exacerbated this sentiment, sparking a range of reactionary proposals aimed at recovering the country's pastoral ideal—from wilderness preservation, to plein air painting, to a renewed interest in botany and gardening.

[330] As several contemporary scholars have pointed out, this worldview relied on the false assumption that the city and the countryside were two distinct realms that could be understood independently of one another. In *Nature's Metropolis*, William Cronon attempted to redefine this relationship by examining the ways in which Chicago's industrialization transformed its surrounding hinterlands into sites of agricultural production: "City and country might be separate places, but they were hardly isolated. Chicago had become 'urban,' spawning belching smokestacks and crowded streets, at the same time that the lands around it became 'rural,' yielding not grass and red-winged blackbirds but wheat, corn, and hogs. Chicago's merchants and workers had built their warehouses and factories in the same decades that farmers had plowed up the prairie sod and lumberjacks had cut the great pine trees of the north woods. City and country shared a common past, and had fundamentally reshaped each other. Neither was as 'natural' or 'unnatural' as it appeared." William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 7. Throughout the book, Cronon provides detailed examples that challenge the reader's basic assumptions about the relationship between human civilization and the natural environment. However, Cronon's insightful analysis does not change the fact that the ideological opposition between *unhealthy cities* and *healthful landscapes* held a prominent place within nineteenth-century thought.

American society, shaping the philosophical tendencies of intellectual and political leaders like Henry David Thoreau and Theodore Roosevelt.[331]

Nowhere is the city/landscape opposition more clearly manifested than the naturalistic pleasure ground created by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux in Central Park (Fig. 5.1). Through the arrangement of trees, vistas, and other natural elements, this public space offers a distinct contrast to the harsh artificiality of the surrounding urban environment. As northeastern cities became denser and more industrialized during the late nineteenth century, Americans viewed this re-integration of nature back into the city as an essential strategy for sustaining physical and psychological well-being. However, incidents of social unrest threatened the future of urban landscape projects during the second half of the nineteenth century. In the midst of the economic panic of 1873, for instance, thousands of unemployed citizens gathered in Tompkins Square Park to call for a more robust form of government aid. Their ensuing confrontations with the New York City Police Department caused an all out riot, which cast doubt on the potential for public space to unite all elements of society. As one observer noted, such instances prompted an anxiety "that additional pleasure-grounds would only offer more space for riot and disturbance; that no police force could preserve decency and order in such broad areas, where the lowest denizens of the city would congregate."[332]

Within this context of political unrest, it is crucial to remember that the stylistic qualities of American landscape parks were meant to underscore a set of social and moral ideals. The formal gardens of Europe were developed *by* and *for* aristocrats, most notably the grounds of Versailles created under the reign of Louis XIV (Fig. 5.2). By contrast, American landscape

[331] During the late nineteenth century, one publication advanced the discourse on *unhealthy cities* and *healthful landscapes* more than any other: *Garden and Forest Magazine*. Although it ran for only nine years (1888 - 1897), *Garden and Forest* attracted a wide audience through its coverage of gardening techniques, forestry efforts, and wilderness conservation.
[332] "Parks for Growing Cities," *Garden & Forest*, February 10, 1892, 61.

parks were intended to be democratic and egalitarian spaces, which all classes of society could enjoy. This sentiment is clearly expressed throughout the writings of the preeminent American landscape designer, Frederick Law Olmsted.

> Consider that the New York Park and the Brooklyn Park are the only places in those associated cities where...you will find a body of Christians coming together, and with an evident glee in the prospect of coming together, all classes largely represented, with a common purpose, not at all intellectual, competitive with none, disposing to jealousy and spiritual or intellectual pride toward none, each individual adding by his mere presence to the pleasure of all others, all helping to the greater happiness of each.[333]

Contemporary scholars, such as Roy Rozenweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, have questioned the degree to which Olmsted's democratic vision survived in reality. Their book, *The Park and People*, highlights the ways in which Central Park amplified class divisions rather than dissolving them. Drawing upon a wide range of historical sources, they describe the displacement of poor communities to make way for the park, as well as the implicit hierarchies attached to park use.[334] But even if American landscape parks fell short of the egalitarian values that inspired their creation, they nonetheless represented a fundamental shift in the way societies set aside land for public use.

Fortunately, public support for urban landscape parks was eventually able to overcome the anxieties and fears stoked by incidents of social unrest. And with the public in agreement that parklands were a necessary addition to the city fabric, many cultural critics turned their attention to precisely defining their "true purpose" within urban life. One author characterized city parks as "rural retreats,"[335] while another highlighted the "convenient opportunity to enjoy beautiful natural scenery"[336] without leaving the city. At the heart of these descriptions is an underlying assumption that city dwellers need some place to retreat from their everyday environments. For

[333] Frederick Law Olmsted, *Civilizing American Cities: Writings on City Landscapes* ed. S.B. Sutton (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 1997), 75.
[334] For instance, the authors discuss members of high society parading through the park's winding pathways in horse-drawn carriages while poorer classes were relegated to other social spaces.
[335] "The True Function of City Parks," *Garden & Forest*, March 4, 1891, 97.
[336] "The True Purpose of a Large Public Park," *Garden & Forest*, June 2, 1897, 212.

nineteenth-century Americans, the ostensibly natural landscapes found in urban parks offered temporary relief from the jarring, fast-paced experience of the industrial city.[337] One commenter was even more explicit in equating natural landscapes with healthfulness, noting that "rural scenery has an intrinsic value in enabling us to resist successfully the wearing influences of town life and to recover the mental energy thus wasted."[338] While these kinds of assumptions might strike contemporary readers as naïve, they nonetheless played an important role in shaping the development of urban planning in the United States.

Since urban parklands were understood to have fundamental health benefits, their appropriation for other purposes became a contentious political issue. Numerous contributors to design journals harshly criticized railroads or commercial developments that encroached upon the land set aside for city parks. But in addition to these obvious threats, many authors also warned against more innocuous activities, such as public meetings, educational initiatives, and sporting competitions.[339] Perhaps still wary from violent events like the Tompkins Square Riot, many critics argued that no organized activity whatsoever should occur within an urban park, regardless of how noble the cause may be. For Frederick Law Olmsted, even ornamental embellishments of the parklands posed a threat to their intended purpose.

> We can hardly avoid the feeling that there is an unfortunate tendency to crowd Prospect Park too much with statues, monuments and other architectural structures, which are introduced more because they are interesting or desirable in themselves than because they make the landscapes of the park more beautiful or more natural and refreshing.[340]

In order to protect the sanctity of landscape parks from outside threats, various art societies and park boards were established. These organizations ensured that the parklands could continue to

[337] "The True Purpose of a Large Public Park," *Garden & Forest*, 1897, 212. The author states that landscape parks offer "occasional relief from the nervous strain due to the excessive artificiality of city life."
[338] *Garden & Forest*, 1892
[339] "The Use of City Parks," *Garden and Forest*, July 29, 1891, 349; "Art Societies and City Parks," *Garden and Forest*, July 12, 1893, 291-292.
[340] "The Architectural Attack on Rural Parks," *Garden and Forest*, September 4, 1895, 351.

serve their "true" function: providing psychological relief to all classes dwelling in the industrial city.

5.2 Professional Jurisdiction over Urban Landscape Parks

While the function of urban parks had reached a level of consensus toward the end of the nineteenth century, the question of who had the expertise to design and manage them remained unresolved. One major event that helped clarify this question was the Columbian Exposition held in Chicago during the summer of 1893 (Fig. 5.3 - 5.4). Whereas the buildings for the exposition were designed by an ensemble of architects, the grounds were the creation of a single designer: Frederick Law Olmsted (Fig. 5.5). By this time, Olmsted was already a household name thanks to both his prolific writing career and his collaboration with Calvert Vaux on design of Central Park. Nonetheless, the unprecedented level of publicity surrounding the Columbian Exposition played a significant role in elevating the status of landscape gardening within public consciousness.[341] As one critic noted after attending the exhibition, landscape gardening "means something deeper than the making of pretty pictures on the grass" and, therefore, "deserves to rank with architecture among the arts of design."[342] However, the growing appreciation for landscape design as both an art form and a profession only heightened the need for a clear set of qualifications that would distinguish landscape experts from both amateurs and competing professionals.[343]

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[341] "The Work of Frederick Law Olmsted at the Columbian Exposition." *Garden and Forest*, May 3, 1893, 192. "In the throng who witnessed on Monday the Columbian Exposition few probably realized that the harmony of the scene and the perfection and convenience of the whole scheme of arrangement were due to the genius of one man, Frederick Law Olmsted...The foremost artist which the New World has yet produced, Mr. Olmsted, has been singularly fortunate in impressing himself during his own life upon his time and people, and in living to see with his own eyes the development and perfection of his greatest conceptions...No American has been more useful in his time or has made a more valuable and lasting contribution to civilization in this country."

[342] "Pretenders in Landscape-art," *Garden and Forest*, June 29, 1892, 302.

[343] Ibid., 302: "There is danger that, as the value of counsel in this direction comes to be more generally recognized, there will be no lack of unskilled persons ready to call themselves landscape-gardeners, and to work untold harm upon confiding clients."

With professional jurisdiction in a state of uncertainty, several cities tested different organizational strategies for employing and consulting with landscape experts. An 1893 article from *Garden and Forest*, for instance, discusses the two approaches taken by New York City and Boston in regard to the creation and administration of public parks. On the one hand, New York appointed a commission that identified several pieces of land to be designed as parks at a later date. This approach recognized the expertise of a landscape designer in transforming the raw land into pleasure-grounds. However, the commission did not seek the advice of any landscape experts in the initial phase of identifying sites for future parks. By contrast, the city of Boston employed the notable landscape designer, Charles Eliot, as an advisor for the initial phase of surveying potential park locations. Editorializing this difference, the *Garden and Forest* contributor argues that Eliot's assistance "will be worth a great deal more than it would have been had he not been called in as a professional advisor until after the land had been secured."[344]

Throughout this period, several critics sought to define landscape gardening as a legitimate profession, concerned not only with the design of individual plantings and vistas, but also with the aesthetic harmony of larger urban systems. Such a vision of landscape design as an expertise in coordination and balance is perhaps best illustrated through the words of Frederick Law Olmsted:

> Most men of specialized training, such as architects, engineers and all grades of horticulturists, stand in need of an awakening before they are really competent to have to do with park work. Each has to learn that his building, his bridge or road, his tree or flower, which he has been accustomed to think of as an end in itself, is, in the park, only a means auxiliary and contributive to a larger end—namely the general landscape.[345]

[344] "Landscape-art in Public Parks," *Garden and Forest*, May 3, 1893, 191-192. Later on the article, the author states his position even more directly: The impression prevails too generally that the true function of a landscape-gardener is to make shrub-borders and flower-beds, but even a hasty perusal of this report will convince any reader that it is the duty of someone to make such a fundamental study if the park system of any city is to be developed on the best lines, and that a searching review of the physical and historical geography of any district is needed in order to establish the principles which should control even the selection of its park sites.

[345] "Parks, Parkways, and Pleasure-grounds II," *Garden and Forest*, May 22, 1895, 203.

Interestingly, the city of New York suddenly changed their approach to park management in 1895, removing the entire commission and appointing a new board. According to one commenter, the previous commission's "most serious offence was that in the construction of a pleasure drive along the shores of the Harlem River they refused to consult with their landscape-architect, and directed a city engineer to prepare plans and specifications to carry on the work."[346] Under the new board, Calvert Vaux was named supervisor and all engineers were ordered to report to him. Within the pages of various design journals, this reorganization of professional authority was viewed quite positively.

> This elevates the skilled park-maker of the department to his proper rank at the head of these works as their designer, and places the engineer where he belongs, subordinate to him and in charge of matters of construction under his direction.[347]

This sentiment was echoed over and over again, with other contributors providing additional reasons to explain why engineers were unqualified as landscape designers. John Charles Olmsted, for instance, commented that engineers are "often disposed to solve the problem presented by each element of a park independently of every other."[348]

In addition to naturalistic parks and fairgrounds, some nineteenth-century landscape designers also tested their abilities in the design of urban systems. For instance, Frederick Law Olmsted oversaw the creation of two monumental parkways—Eastern and Ocean—in Brooklyn, New York during the 1860s and 70s. Integrating natural scenery and aesthetic beauty into

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[346] "City Engineers and Public Parks," *Garden and Forest*, March 6, 1895, 91.
[347] Ibid., 91.
[348] Ibid. Unsurprisingly, engineers had a substantially different take on the subject. An article in *The Engineering Magazine* harshly criticized Frederick Law Olmsted's landscape design for the Columbian Exposition because it did not create efficient walking paths from one part of the grounds to another. "Landscape-gardening at the Columbian Fair," *Garden and Forest*, December 22, 1893, 501: Quoting *The Engineering Magazine*: "While the landscape-gardening is unquestionably very fine to look at and adds immensely to the appearance of the buildings, it is totally unsuited for practical purposes. Everywhere there was walking, walking, walking; short cuts were impossible, because you were invariably cut off by a lagoon or a lake. People who do not know what landscape-gardening is, must, after that Fair, think it something very dreadful, based on the idea, if possible, of making people go twice the distance to reach a certain point when they might only go half by going another way."

infrastructural design, these parkways proposed a radical alternative to the industrial city.[349] And to the extent that Olmsted's parkways can be regarded as urban planning projects, they also foreshadowed the future trajectory of landscape architecture in the twentieth century. Building off of the momentum generated by Olmsted, Vaux, and other nineteenth-century practitioners, an emerging generation of landscape designers would soon band together to define the professional ambitions of their budding discipline.

5.3 A Professional Organization for Landscape Architects

As discussed above, the artistic tradition of landscape design was well known in the nineteenth century. Practitioners like Andrew Jackson Downing and Frederick Law Olmsted introduced American society to the aesthetic pleasures of shaped topography and picturesque vistas. Their efforts, of course, built upon a long lineage of European landscape and garden precedents. Yet, artistic traditions are not the same as professions, properly constituted. It was not until a group of eleven prominent landscape architects met in early 1899 that the profession of landscape architecture began to take shape in the United States.

This meeting took place in the office of Parsons & Pentecost, located at the corner of Broadway and 26th Street in New York City (Fig. 5.6). The eleven attendees were among the nation's most renowned landscape designers: Nathan Barrett, Beatrix Jones Farrand, Daniel Langton, Charles Lowrie, Warren H. Manning, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., John Charles Olmsted, Samuel Parsons, Jr., George F. Pentecost, Jr., O.C. Simonds, and Downing Vaux.[350] Since the practice of landscape architecture was relatively young in the United States at this time, the personal and professional histories of these eleven designers were significantly intertwined.

[349] For a more detailed account of these parkways, see Elizabeth Macdonald, *Pleasure Drives and Promenades: A History of Frederick Law Olmsted's Brooklyn Parkways* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).
[350] For a brief biographical sketch of each landscape architect in attendance, see Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 387-392.

For instance, many of them had worked in some capacity under an Olmsted, either one of the two brothers present at the meeting or their father, Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. (Fig. 5.7).[351] Geographically, the eleven landscape designers were distributed across three primary cities: Boston, Chicago, and New York. The immediate goal of their meeting was to establish a professional organization for landscape architecture, which would further instill confidence in their emerging body of expertise.

As historian Norman Newton has noted, some practitioners were not entirely convinced that the timing was right for a professional organization. For instance, one prominent landscape architect argued in favor of "organizing, not a professional, but a general association" for those who appreciated landscape art.[352] Such an objection appears to have been prompted by the fact that the entire country contained only a handful of practicing landscape architects. To his point, several "general associations" were, indeed, formed during the late nineteenth century, including the American Park and Outdoor Art Association and the Repton Club.[353] Additionally, publications like *Garden & Forest Magazine* fed the public's growing interest in landscape work.[354] But two practitioners in particular—Warren H. Manning of Boston and Samuel Parsons, Jr. of New York City—were convinced that a national professional organization was critical to advancing the cause (Fig. 5.8).[355] The pair exchanged letters before meeting privately in New

[351] Downing Vaux was the son of the elder Olmsted's collaborator on Central Park, Calvert Vaux.
[352] This professional was none other than Charles Eliot, Jr. This particular quotation is from Newton, *Design on the Land,* 386.
[353] Newton, *Design on the Land*, 386.
[354] For a more detailed account of *Garden & Forest Magazine* and its influence on the professionalization of landscape architecture, see Shen Hou, *The City Natural: Garden and Forest Magazine and the Rise of American Environmentalism* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013).
[355] As noted in the previous chapter, Samuel Parsons, Jr. would soon be commissioned by Col. Bingham to propose a plan for the National mall in Washington, D.C. The fact that he was aligned with the Army Corp of Engineers against Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. and the Senate Park Commission demonstrates the fluid nature of jurisdiction and professional boundaries during this period.

York during December of 1898, where they discussed who should be invited to the organization's first meeting.[356]

Apparently, the enthusiasm shared by Manning and Parsons was contagious. Whereas the Olmsted brothers had previously expressed hesitation regarding a national organization for landscape architecture, they both accepted the invitation to travel to New York City for the momentous occasion.[357] With all eleven practitioners—ten male, one female—gathered in the office of Parsons & Pentecost, the American Society of Landscape Architects (ASLA) was born. At this first meeting, John Charles Olmsted was chosen as the organization's first President and a committee was assigned the task of drafting a constitution. A few months later, the group reconvened in New York, adopting the proposed constitution and electing three additional officers: Samuel Parsons, Jr. (Vice-President), Charles Lowrie (Secretary), and Daniel Langton (Treasurer). But despite the successful launch of the ASLA, the excitement surrounding the group's progress was likely dampened by the absence of one particular figure: Charles Eliot, Jr.

Charles Eliot, Jr. was a prominent landscape architect from Boston and one of the first to lobby for the advancement of the profession (Fig. 5.9). After operating his own practice for several years, Eliot accepted an offer to partner with John Charles Olmsted and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., who renamed their firm Olmsted, Olmsted & Eliot. Working in this capacity, Eliot took the lead on the firm's proposal for Boston's Metropolitan Park System. It would be his greatest contribution to the American landscape. In March of 1897, at the age of thirty-seven, Eliot died suddenly from a severe case of spinal meningitis.[358] Though Eliot's death was tragic, it had a silver lining. His father—Harvard University President, Charles W. Eliot—sought to

[356] Newton, *Design on the Land*, 386.
[357] Ibid. Newton quotes an 1898 letter from John Charles Olmsted to Samuel Parsons in which he states that it is "entirely unlikely that any such comprehensive and elaborately organized professional association as you seem to have in mind will be successful until there are more experience and well recognized practitioners willing to join it."
[358] Anthony Alofsin, *The Struggle for Modernism: Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and City Planning at Harvard* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2002), 21-23.

memorialize his son through the creation of the nation's first degree program in landscape architecture.[359] Alongside the establishment of the ASLA, a significant milestone in its own right, landscape architects were now granted the opportunity to witness the creation of a proper university program for their budding profession.

5.4 The Formation of Landscape Education

Prior to the twentieth century, no formal educational pathways existed for landscape architects. Instead, aspiring professionals had to cobble together their landscape educations from an assortment of academic and professional opportunities. Harvard's Bussey Institution, for instance, provided a small research-based environment, where students could study forestry, botany and other horticultural pursuits (Fig. 5.10). Additionally, many aspiring landscape architects apprenticed under established practitioners to learn the necessary skills through first-hand experience. By the late nineteenth century, leading landscape architects like Charles Eliot, Jr. were calling for the formation of independent educational programs specially devoted to the art of designing landscapes. Ironically, Eliot's dream would only come to fruition through his untimely death. His father, carrying out the vision, called upon Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. to develop the new educational program at Harvard and oversee its implementation.[360] After two years of planning and curriculum design, Harvard accepted its first class of thirty-seven landscape architecture students in 1900.[361]

Perhaps the most important aspect of this new program was its institutional location. Whereas a few other universities offered landscape gardening courses within departments of agriculture, Harvard's program was integrated into the Lawrence Scientific School alongside

[359] Ibid., 23. It was a thoughtful tribute since the younger Eliot had campaigned for such a program before his death, even pitching the idea to a member of Harvard's Board of Overseers.
[360] Ibid.
[361] Ibid.

architecture and engineering.[362] This decision fulfilled a wish of the late Charles Eliot, Jr., who argued that landscape education would function better "in a School of Design rather than in a School of Horticulture."[363] Such an organizational model also allowed the programs of architecture and landscape architecture to combine resources. In fact, as Anthony Alofsin has noted, both programs shared the same curriculum and faculty, led by Herbert Langford Warren. The specialized courses in landscape architecture were taught by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., with Arthur Shurtleff and Benjamin Watson serving as his assistants.[364] Over the next decade, this pioneering degree program elevated the status of the profession and set the standard for landscape education in the United States.[365]

While Harvard had the most renowned program for aspiring landscape architects at the turn of the twentieth century, additional educational opportunities soon developed at other institutions. For instance, MIT began offering courses in landscape design around the same time as Harvard.[366] Their program was led by Guy Lowell, an architect trained at the École des Beaux

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[362] The University of Illinois, for instance, offered a course in Landscape Gardening as early as 1868.

[363] As quoted in Alofsin, *The Struggle for Modernism*, 22.

[364] Shurtleff studied engineering at MIT and then art history at Harvard before apprenticing under the Olmsted Brothers in Brookline, Massachusetts. Watson, on the other hand, began his studies at Harvard and then taught courses on horticulture within the Bussey Institution. Alofsin, *The Struggle for Modernism*, 23. It is quite likely that Watson was one of Charles Eliot Jr.'s teachers at the Bussey Institution.

[365] The four-year program, which resulted in a Bachelor of Science degree, introduced students to a wide array of topics, including the historical principles of landscape design and the technical aspects of topographical surveying.

[366] One important distinction between Harvard and MIT centered around the issue of gender. From its inception in 1846, MIT's halls were open to students of both sexes (at least in theory, if not always in practice). Even with low female enrollment throughout the late nineteenth century, MIT's co-educational status signaled a brighter future for women aspiring to make serious intellectual contributions. Among the most notable women to enter the landscape architecture program were Mabel Keyes Babcock, Martha Brookes Hutcheson, Marian Cruger Coffin, and Rose Standish Nichols. These women undoubtedly faced tougher circumstances than their male counterparts. Systematic biases towards female students in early education left many of them unprepared for college courses. Even those women who were well-prepared had to overcome cultural barriers in order to gain the respect they deserved in the classroom. But despite these drawbacks, MIT's landscape architecture program was far ahead of the times in comparison to other design schools. Unfortunately, low enrollment caused the program to be terminated in 1909, only nine years after its inception.

The end of landscape architecture at MIT was a major setback for aspiring female architects. One of the few remaining educational options for women was the Lowthorpe School of Landscape Architecture in Groton, Massachusetts. This program, established in 1901 (one year after the creation of Harvard's and MIT's respective programs), was intended especially for female designers. Its founder, Judith Eleanor Motley Low, was a relative of Benjamin Bussey, whose financial contributions helped establish both the Bussey Institute and the Arnold Arboretum. By 1917, the Cambridge School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture would offer an additional educational pathway for women. Yet, these all-female schools, as important as they were, could not provide the same caliber of faculty and resources that had been available to women at MIT.

Arts in Paris.[367] Unlike Harvard, MIT's landscape architecture program was never imagined as an autonomous entity. Instead, its curriculum was largely comprised of courses from several other departments, including architecture, civil engineering, and the various natural sciences. This organizational distinction represented deep intellectual differences between the two schools. Whereas Olmsted conceived of landscape architecture as its own profession, Lowell saw it as an additional expertise for architects.[368] MIT's 1900-01 Annual Catalogue advertises that the new curriculum in landscape design "gives to both the architect and the civil engineer a chance for special studies which cannot fail to be of the greatest value."[369] Such a hierarchy was reinforced by the fact that graduates of the landscape architecture option at MIT were awarded a degree in architecture.

Several years after the formation of educational programs in landscape architecture at Harvard and MIT, a number of other universities followed suit. However, the differences among these various programs pointed to the lack of a unified vision for the profession as a whole. As noted above, courses in landscape gardening were taught alongside agriculture at a handful of land-grant institutions like the University of Illinois. At Columbia University, on the other hand, a four-year program was announced in 1912, to be "made up of subjects from the courses in architecture, engineering, botany, and Pure Science."[370] Despite the growing momentum behind landscape education, the question of whether landscape architecture should comprise its own

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For more detailed accounts of the gender dynamics within landscape education, see Eran Ben-Joseph, Holly D. Ben-Joseph, and Anne C. Dodge, "Against all Odds: MIT's Pioneering Women of Landscape Architecture," (MIT, School of Architecture and Planning, City Design and Development Group: Cambridge, Mass., November 2006), Dorothy May Anderson, *Women, Design, and the Cambridge School* (Mesa, AZ: PDA Publishers, 1987) and Jane Allison Knight, "An Examination of the History of the Lowthorpe School of Landscape Architecture for Women, Groton, Massachusetts, 1901-1945," Master's Thesis, Cornell University, 1986.

[367] Lowell's appreciation for landscape was partially spurred by a personal connection. In 1899, he married the daughter of Charles S. Sargent, a notable American botanist and director of the Arnold Arboretum. Sargent himself led a course in horticulture at MIT in which students had the opportunity to study in the arboretum.

[368] Eran Ben-Joseph, Holly D. Ben-Joseph, and Anne C. Dodge, "Against all Odds," 10.

[369] *MIT Annual Catalog 1900-01*, 38-41.

[370] H.A. Caparn, "Landscape Design and the Designer of Landscape," *Architectural Record* 31, no. 5 (May 1912): 539. This article also notes that the program will include instruction in the areas of "surveying, geology, hydraulics, and optionals in advanced building, French and German."

educational field or be integrated into an existing department remained unanswered. As practitioners and educators soon realized, the future of the profession itself was up for grabs.

5.5 Landscape Architecture's Identity Crisis

With the establishment of the ASLA in 1899 and several educational pathways soon after, landscape architecture was a profession on the rise in the United States. Yet, despite these victories, the profession's identity remained in a state of crisis. Particularly troubling to landscape architects was their inability to dissolve earlier associations with gardening and horticulture.[371] These recurrent conflations were, perhaps, unavoidable given the small size of the profession and the diverse backgrounds of its leaders. None of the eleven founding members of the ASLA had any form of university education in landscape design. Instead, the eclectic group was comprised of civil engineering graduates, former nursery operators, and others who learned landscape design through apprenticeship.[372] Adding further confusion was the fact that the ASLA's constitution stated that the organization was intended for both landscape architects *and* landscape gardeners. The primary stipulation requires that a member's "compensation is received directly from his client, and not directly or indirectly from labor, plants, or other material used in fitting land for use."[373] The flexibility in regard to professional titles combined with the specificity of a payment model illustrates the tactful approach taken by the constitution's authors (Parsons, Vaux, Manning, J.C. Olmsted, and Simonds). On the one hand, they aimed to maintain a high standard for their professional organization by restricting the entry

[371] For instance, one 1905 newspaper article covering the annual banquet of the ASLA featured the title, "Gardeners Meet.": "Gardeners Meet," *The Morning Astoria*, Thursday, January 19, 1905.
[372] Newton, *Design on the Land*, 387. Lowrie and Simmonds were trained in civil engineering. Barrett, Manning, and Parsons came from nursery families. Jones apprenticed under Charles Sprague Sargent. The Olmsted brothers and Downing Vaux, of course, learned landscape through their respective family members, Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux. Newton notes that Daniel Langton and George F. Pentecost, Jr. came to landscape design "simply by personal predilection."
[373] Harold Caparn, James Sturgis Pray, and Downing Vaux, eds., *Transactions of the American Society of Landscape Architects: From its inception in 1899 to the end of 1908* (Harrisburg, PA: Horace J. McFarland Company, Mt. Pleasant Press, 1906), 10.

of gardeners, botanists, and other horticultural enthusiasts. On the other hand, they realized that many qualified designers chose (or at least accepted) the title of "landscape gardener" because it had more weight with clients in certain contexts. Nonetheless, the official name of their organization—American Society of *Landscape Architects*—indicates which title the profession itself preferred.

With officers elected and a constitution adopted, the ASLA sought to strengthen the profession's identity by weighing in on current affairs. The first opportunity to exert their influence as a professional body developed in response to a proposed Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument in New York City (Fig. 5.11). The monument, which had first been suggested in 1869, was intended to honor those Americans who served in the Union Army during the U.S. Civil War. But it was the location, rather than the cause, that the landscape architects found problematic. On December 12, 1899, less than a year after the ASLA was founded, five members of the executive committee met to discuss the issue.[374] In the end, they voted to oppose the plan of siting the monument at the intersection of 89th Street and Riverside Drive because it would block the existing promenade. Instead, they argued, the monument "requires a much larger area of land about it treated architecturally in harmony with it."[375] Letters stating their opposition were sent directly to several prominent politicians, including the mayor of New York City, the president of New York's city council, and the president of New York's tax board. Although the landscape architects did not succeed in convincing city officials to change the site or design of the monument, their letters, nonetheless, signaled a new direction for the profession.

[374] The only two members of the executive committee not present were O.C. Simonds and Warren H. Manning.
[375] Caparn, Pray, and Vaux, eds., *Transactions of the American Society of Landscape Architects: From its inception in 1899 to the end of 1908,* 17. Also, see "Soldiers and Sailors' Monument: Landscape Architects Object to the Last Site Selected for It," *The New York Sun*, Saturday, December 23, 1899.

By thrusting the profession into this debate over a specific civic improvement, the ASLA's leadership demonstrated a commitment to expanding the jurisdictional boundaries of landscape architecture to address problems that concerned a broader audience. Yet, exactly what the practice of landscape architecture did and did not include was far from obvious. The founding members of the ASLA had established reputations for themselves through a variety of commissions, including parks, golf courses, fairgrounds, cemeteries, gardens, and university campuses. Given their expertise in organizing large systems, many landscape architects argued that they were professionals best prepared to oversee the design and improvement of cities. In 1901, this sentiment was validated by the District of Columbia Committee's selection of Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. to assist in the redesign of Washington, D.C. As detailed in the previous chapter, this appointment pitted Olmsted and two prominent architects—Daniel Burnham and Charles McKim—against the Army Corp of Engineers in a battle for jurisdiction over city planning. Their proposal was a comprehensive scheme that prioritized beauty and monumentality over other pragmatic concerns. Despite his involvement, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. soon distanced himself from this approach to city planning. At Harvard, where he led the landscape architecture program, Olmsted began exploring new ways of thinking about the city and its ordering principles. His efforts would have a dramatic impact on the emerging planning discourse, as well as the professional development of landscape architecture in the United States.

5.6 Realities Over Ideals

Within the landscape architecture program at Harvard, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. devised exercises that required the students to accurately measure and draw existing sites. In fact, Anthony Alofsin has noted that Olmsted's pedagogical methods "resulted in the relative absence

of original design."[376] Rather than focusing on *ideal* compositions, Olmsted's students honed in on the *realities* of specific contexts. This approach was applied to sites and programs at a variety of scales, from individual estates to entire cities. By tackling the design of cities and landscapes through a "close reading" of the existing context, Olmsted and his students proposed a radical alternative to City Beautiful planning and its emphasis on monumentality and ideal forms. In his analysis of student projects from this period, Alofsin describes the political frameworks embedded within Olmsted's pedagogy:

> Student schemes, though often awkwardly executed, demonstrated reformist attitudes that acknowledged the need for community facilities such as parks and playgrounds. Their work reflected an increased interest in the subdivision of land and the already-established practices of eminent domain, which allow the appropriation of property for public welfare. While the echelons of high society suffered no lack of competent designers, civic awareness entered the consciousness of the faculty and students at the Department of Landscape Architecture; this new awareness stimulated new approaches to urban and regional problems that went beyond the scope and benefit of the individual.[377]

It is somewhat ironic that Olmsted would take this approach to city planning at Harvard at the very moment that he was involved in the redesign of Washington, D.C. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Senate Park Commission's proposal for the capital city was the epitome of idealistic planning. And the primary objection expressed by their chief opponent—House Speaker Joseph Cannon—was that the plan did not pragmatically respond to Washington's existing landscape. This contradiction reinforces the point that Charles McKim (rather than Olmsted) was responsible for the design of Washington's ceremonial core. Coincidentally, McKim would also be hired by Harvard to design a new building for its architecture and landscape architecture programs (Fig. 5.12). One faculty member harshly criticized McKim's

[376] Alofsin, *The Struggle for Modernism*, 28.
[377] Ibid., 39-40.

design for its lack of contextualism: "in design, in material, and in color it is out of harmony with Sever hall, to which it stands in close and subordinate relation."[378]

Olmsted's ability to advance the landscape architecture program at Harvard hinged upon the team that he assembled to work around him. In 1902, he hired James Sturgis Pray (Fig. 5.13), a landscape designer who studied at Harvard's Bussey Institution before apprenticing under the Olmsted Brothers as well as the late Charles Eliot, Jr.[379] Over the next several years, as Olmsted devoted more time to his own practice, Pray took an increasingly central role in Harvard's landscape architecture program. In 1907, he was named chairman of the landscape department, which had recently transitioned (along with architecture) to the Graduate School of Applied Sciences.[380] Through this role, Alofsin notes, "Pray began to push for the autonomy of the program and for the recognition of the profession of landscape architecture as a fine art in which plant materials were subordinate to aesthetic principles."[381] His campaign for autonomy enlivened "innate tensions" between the departments of architecture and landscape architecture, especially regarding the distribution of shared resources.[382]

Such a fracture within the faculty at Harvard served as a microcosm of the professions at large. With each side eager to solidify its identity and stake out its professional territory, jurisdictional competitions quickly became contentious. In the early decades of the twentieth century, no area of jurisdiction was more contested than city planning. Within the design professions, there were several competing visions of what a modern city should be. The so-called "grid-iron plan," which dominated American cities, was criticized by both landscape architects and architects, either for its lack of responsiveness to local conditions or its disregard for artistic

[378] This faculty member was Charles Eliot Norton: As quoted in Alofsin, *The Struggle for Modernism* 31.
[379] Ibid., 32.
[380] Ibid., 40.
[381] Ibid.
[382] Ibid.

expression.[383] However, these design professionals hardly agreed on what should replace the grid as the new model of urban development. Many architects in the United States continued to lobby for the City Beautiful approach, with its emphasis on monumentality and spectacle. Others looked to Europe, where the Garden City movement was gaining momentum in both England and Germany.[384] Still, others argued for a "picturesque" approach to planning, which would be comprised of extensive park systems surrounding urban areas.[385] Debates over the respective merits of each vision produced an entirely new discourse on city planning.

By 1909, design students at Harvard were putting pressure on the administration to provide instruction in this increasingly important area.[386] It was becoming clear that urbanization would be a defining force in the twentieth-century and these students wanted the knowledge and skills to address city planning problems upon graduation. Answering their call, James Sturgis Pray developed the first formal course on city planning in the United States: "Principles of City Planning, Illustrated by a Critical Study of Examples."[387] Pray described the organization of this ground-breaking course in a 1911 article for *Landscape Architecture Magazine*:

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[383] For instance, see Franz K. Winkler, "Mitigating the 'Gridiron' Street Plan: Some Good Effects Achieved in New York City," *Architectural Record* 30, no. 1 (July 1911): 379. "To apply any Procrustean rectangle to all the surface of a city, without regard to the terrain, involves much waste of money in excavation and grading at the outset, and entails endless waste of time, which is also money, by eliminating "short cuts...That hoary-headed old sinner, William Penn, is the ultimate author of our woes, in New York as well as in Philadelphia. It is he who has 'regularly laid us out.'"

[384] As described in Ebenezer Howard's 1898 publication *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, the Garden City proposed a utopian synthesis of nature and industrial society (Fig. 5.14). Rather than containing large populations within dense urban centers, Howard's plan was comprised of a network of smaller communities (each with a population of 32,000) surroundings a larger city center (with a population of 58,000). These residential nodes were to be organized in a circular composition and connected via a canal, a railroad, and series of diagonal streets. All other industrial, educational, and cultural facilities would be located in the space between individual residential communities. Howard's radical idea quickly gained the support of many intellectuals and designers who were concerned about the deplorable conditions of urban slums. Within a matter of years, several designed communities were constructed in Europe based on Howard's principles, including Letchworth and Welwyn. For a detailed account of how the Garden City approach was applied in the United States, see Robert A. M. Stern, David Fishman, and Jacob Tilove, *Paradise Planned: The Garden Suburb and the Modern City* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 2013).

[385] Ironically, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. had a foot in numerous camps. With the Senate Park Commission, he helped develop the nation's most comprehensive and formal urban schemes. In his practice, he worked on several park systems that integrated natural beauty with urban infrastructure. And, at Harvard, he developed a curriculum that taught students to measure, describe, and respond to existing landscapes and urban contexts.

[386] Alofsin, *The Struggle for Modernism*, 43.

[387] James Sturgis Pray, "The Department of Landscape Architecture in Harvard University," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 1, no. 2 (January 1911), 66.

> It is essentially a research course, but with lectures and assigned reading. It includes a thesis on some subject of individual investigation. The lectures aim to cover, in theory, the general field of City Planning, parts of which are treated in more detail, with practice in actual problems of design and construction in other courses. In the lectures, the attempt is made to show certain of the more important causes that have determined the forms and arrangements of city-plans, and to deduce certain fundamental principles of organization, afterward applying these to some of the problems of the modern city.[388]

From this description, it is clear that Pray's approach to city planning aligned quite closely with Olmsted's pragmatic contextualism. His interest in addressing problems of the modern city stood as a sharp contrast to the monumentality and symbolism of City Beautiful planning (Burnham unveiled his grandiose plan for Chicago in this very same year.).

While Pray's course had no precedent in the United States, it was not the only educational offering in city planning worldwide. In England, at the University of Liverpool, a new department was established that same year within the School of Architecture dedicated to civic design and town planning. Like Pray's "Principles of City Planning" course, the instruction at Liverpool placed its emphasis on analyzing and responding to real problems that afflicted the modern city. The program's director, Stanley D. Adshead, made his perspective on city planning clear in an article published in 1911: "It occurred to me at the outset that town planning rested on social organization—the social organization of cities—and that to properly understand the architectural aspect of town planning we must first understand the underlying principles of city organization."[389] Back in Cambridge, Pray and his teaching assistant, Bremmer Whidden Pond, closely followed the developments at the University of Liverpool. As Anthony Alofsin notes, they both requested copies of the department's prospectus along with other related materials.[390]

1909 was, indeed, a landmark year for city planning. In addition to two new educational programs on opposite sides of the Atlantic, there were also several political and professional

[388] Pray, "The Department of Landscape Architecture in Harvard University," 66-67.
[389] Stanley D. Adshead, "The School of Civic Design at the Liverpool University," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 1, no. 3 (April 1911), 106.
[390] Alofsin, *The Struggle for Modernism,* 43.

developments. In England, the passage of the 1909 Town Planning Act established design standards that fed the growing momentum behind the Garden City movement. In the United States, on the other hand, a national conference on city planning was held in Washington, D.C. to discuss the merits of European approaches and their potential application in American cities. Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. and his former student, John Nolen (Fig. 5.15), would be prominent speakers at this conference, but the event's organizers were neither architects nor landscape architects. Instead, a new coalition of social reformers from New York City led this charge and set the tone of the event. Ultimately, the discussions at this first city planning conference and the others that followed did not unify the various strands of planning thought so much as they highlighted latent tensions between various groups, each of whom wanted a voice in the future development of American cities.

5.7 The Social Turn in City Planning

The inaugural National Planning Conference, held in May of 1909, would prove to be a historic event. Although attendance was rather unimpressive—43 attendees in total—the conference nonetheless shifted the focus of planning discourse from aesthetic to social concerns.[391] But before discussing the particular line-up of speakers and topics addressed at the landmark 1909 city planning conference, it is critical to take a step back in time to examine its larger context. As Jon Peterson has noted, the roots of this shift toward social concerns can be traced back to the 1907 formation of a radical reform organization in New York City. Responding to massive waves of immigration entering Ellis Island, a small group of reformers established the Committee on Congestion of Population (CCP) with the goal of reframing city planning as a tool for addressing the problems of poor and working-class people. Leading their

[391] The number of attendees is quoted in the 1967 preface to the publication of the conference proceedings.

charge as executive secretary was a young, passionate reformer named Benjamin C. Marsh (Fig. 5.16). Born to a New England minister and educated at the University of Chicago and the University of Pennsylvania, Marsh was by no means underprivileged. As Peterson notes, he came from the "same segment of American society as the City Beautiful advocates."[392] Nonetheless, he delivered a sharp critique of the City Beautiful approach, claiming that it served only the wealthy elite, while ignoring the problems that afflicted the inhabitants of run-down urban slums.

In his book, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840 - 1917*, Peterson provides insightful analysis of the CCP and its underlying intellectual frameworks. Marsh and others involved in the movement were heavily influenced by planning efforts in Germany. On a European tour in 1907, Marsh closely studied German tactics for reducing congestion, which hinged upon the government's intervention in planning decisions. As Peterson explained, "Unlike the United States, private property in Germany had never been accorded near-absolute sanctity, nor had outskirt growth been relegated entirely to market forces."[393] By reserving land surrounding city centers and imposing rigid regulations on building heights and lot coverage, the German government had avoided many problems that afflicted working-class populations in the United States. Of course, the close association between land ownership and American identity was an obvious ideological obstacle to implementing these German strategies in the United States.[394] Additionally, Peterson notes that another, more circumstantial, characteristic of American urban reform hindered the CCP's ability to gain traction. Whereas the aesthetic problems of city planning and the social problems of industrial society were treated holistically

[392] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 228.
[393] Ibid., 238.
[394] For more on this close connection between land ownership and American ideology, see Leo Marx, "The American Ideology of Space," in *Denatured Visions: Landscape and Culture in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Stuart Wreke and William Howard Adams, 63-78 (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1991).

in Europe, that was not the case in the United States. Instead, Peterson describes a "tacit division of labor" within American urban reform, such that "[t]hose who embraced municipal art, outdoor art, and civic improvements as their primary mission knew that other organizations were addressing non-aesthetic reform goals, including the needs of the immigrant working class."[395] This condition complicated the CCP's moral argument for city planning since many City Beautiful advocates were also involved in reform organizations that addressed social problems afflicting congested urban environments.[396]

Despite the presumed division between planning and social reform, the CCP moved forward with their push for a national conference. In examining the swell of momentum behind their effort, the charismatic zeal of the organization's leader, Benjamin C. Marsh, should not be underestimated. Although he was barely thirty years old, Marsh was able to gain the support of some of the nation's most prominent politicians, including President Taft and at least two U.S. senators. This widespread enthusiasm for the conference put city planning leaders, like Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., in a difficult position. On the one hand, Olmsted had worked hard to position himself as a more pragmatic planner than City Beautiful proponents like Burnham and McKim. His educational initiatives at Harvard, now led by James Sturgis Pray, were gradually producing a coherent body of planning expertise. So, the intrusion of Marsh—a young and radical reformer—rubbed Olmsted the wrong way. At the same time, however, Olmsted could not risk skipping the conference and being boxed out of the future development of city planning. He wrote to Marsh requesting that the conference be delayed until the fall of 1909, but Marsh and the CCP did not oblige.[397]

[395] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States*, 230.
[396] Ibid. For instance, Peterson notes that architects like George B. Post and Ernest Flagg were involved in tenement house reform.
[397] Ibid., 247.

With the city planning conference approaching, Olmsted made another, more surprising, request. As Jon Peterson notes, Olmsted suggested that Marsh invite "some prominent municipal engineer" to present a paper to the attendees.[398] Such a request reveals the complex and fluid nature of professional jurisdiction in the early twentieth century. As discussed in the previous chapter, engineers were largely seen as the opposition to architects and landscape architects several years earlier when Olmsted served on the Senate Park Commission. However, with the growing influence of social reformers, Olmsted, the sitting President of the ASLA, embraced the conservative perspective of municipal engineers, hoping they could pull the balance back in his favor. According to Peterson, Olmsted specifically suggested Nelson P. Lewis, the Chief Engineer of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment in New York City. However, the conference proceedings show that the only municipal engineer to deliver an address was Frederick L. Ford of Hartford, Connecticut. Ironically, Ford turned out to be one of Marsh's biggest supporters at the conference, even accepting his radical premise that city planning was fundamentally a problem of relieving urban congestion.[399]

The conference began on the evening of May 21st in the Masonic Temple Auditorium in Washington, D.C. In his opening address, Marsh called for a "national constructive programme for city planning" to be comprised of three tasks:

> First. To ascertain the actual conditions in American cities.
> Second. The giving of the widest possible publicity to the facts ascertained.
> Third. The securing of legislation, whether by local or state authority, to insure adequate city planning.[400]

This tripartite program revealed a great deal about Marsh's perspective on city planning. Like Olmsted, Marsh argued that a survey of the existing condition was a necessary pretext to any

[398] Ibid., 249.
[399] Ibid., 242.
[400] *Proceedings of the First National Conference on City Planning: Washington, D.C., May 21-22, 1909*, (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1967), 61.

intervention. For him, the idealistic City Beautiful plans, like those proposed by Daniel Burnham, offered no solutions to the realities of American industrialization. Yet, Marsh's call to arms failed to propose any definite approach for design intervention. Instead, his program sidestepped the problem of design, suggesting that if one measures and understands the existing problems, then their solutions will be self-evident.[401] This simplistic maneuver to put design problems and design solutions into a deterministic, cause-and-effect relationship is not surprising given Marsh's lack of design training. For Olmsted, however, Marsh's program was infuriating.[402] At Harvard, Olmsted had developed a robust course of instruction that combined social awareness with historical and artistic training to produce a complete synthesis of pragmatic and aesthetic concerns. So, for a young reformer like Marsh to group Olmsted and other landscape architects with the City Beautiful idealists was an insult to the nuanced approach Olmsted had worked so hard to cultivate.

The following afternoon, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. delivered his own address to the attendees of the conference. Having just returned from a European tour, Olmsted commented on the developments that were occurring in city planning abroad, especially in Germany. More specifically, his remarks concerned the width of streets and the role of municipal governments in regulating urban development. However, he concluded with a warning (perhaps aimed at Marsh) against blindly following the German approach: "there is need for some caution lest we copy the mistakes."[403] John Nolen, a former Olmsted student in Harvard's landscape architecture program, gave a similar address to the attendees in which he railed against the uniformity of city plans irrespective of their local context. According to Nolen, "Civic art furnishes the most

[401] His second and third points were aimed at getting the general public and government officials on the side (or merely out of the way) of progressive planning.
[402] Jon Peterson describes Olmsted's negative feelings towards Marsh in *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917*. Peterson even cites a letter in which Olmsted insinuated that the NCCP needed a "saner" leader than Marsh.
[403] *Proceedings of the First National Conference on City Planning*, 70.

available means to express these local customs and local aspirations, and it should be remembered that only in expression do we truly possess them."[404] By articulating the cultural significance of design, Nolen and Olmsted aimed to undercut the radical, reformist tone of the conference.

Interestingly, the architectural division between interior and exterior served as the battle line for attendees of the first national conference on city planning. Designers like Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., John Nolen, and Charles Mulford Robinson were primarily concerned with the large-scale, socio-cultural impacts of planning. That is to say, they saw design as a vehicle for ordering complex social interactions, producing desirable public spaces, and representing cultural identities. On the other hand, the reformers, led by Benjamin C. Marsh, were motivated by their concern for the congested living conditions of America's urban poor and working-class populations. The differences between these two approaches are significant. The former emphasizes the production of new public spaces, whereas the latter intervenes as a reaction to inadequate private spaces. At least one architect in attendance, George B. Ford, agreed with the reformers' suggestion that housing should be the primary area of focus. Ford's address outlined three basic necessities of any living quarters: cleanliness, privacy, and natural light.[405]

Perhaps the most surprising guest to address the conference was Speaker of the House and long-time enemy of architects, Joseph Cannon. His characteristically back-handed remarks came at the closing banquet held on the final evening of the conference: "I bid godspeed to this planning that you are working for, but for heaven's sake don't follow the example of some and try to relieve conditions that you don't understand."[406] One can only imagine whether or not

[404] Ibid., 74.
[405] Ibid., 80.
[406] Ibid., 100.

Cannon's gaze fell upon Olmsted, recalling his work with the Senate Park Commission, as he delivered the second half of this statement.[407]

Although it did not succeed in unifying the various strands of American planning thought, the first national conference, nonetheless, established a public discourse that had never before existed in the United States. Lines were drawn, sides were chosen, and the internal battle for the future of American city planning was underway. However, it is critical to note that none of the conference attendees argued for (or even imagined) city planning as an independent profession.[408] This development would only come later in the second decade of the twentieth century. First, it had to be decided which individual or group held the proper expertise to lead the progressive planning movement. A few years earlier, Olmsted and the landscape architects seemed poised to wrestle the reins away from Daniel Burnham and the City Beautiful planners. However, the unexpected rise of Benjamin C. Marsh and the Committee on Congestion of Population complicated matters. Shortly after the first national conference, Marsh was invited to appear before the Senate's Committee on the District of Columbia (the very same committee that sponsored the McMillan plan in 1901) to present his suggestions for city planning. Among the points that Marsh discussed were lot coverage, non-uniform zoning, living wages, fire-proofing, real estate speculation, rapid transit, and the constitutionality of eminent domain.[409] Burnham and McKim had made presentations to the same committee on the same subject—city planning—only a few years earlier. Yet, the language and tone of the two discussions could not

[407] If so, then Cannon's disdain would be misplaced, because it was McKim rather than Olmsted who was to blame for the lack of site responsiveness in the redesign of the National Mall.

[408] Dennis O'Harrow's preface to the 1967 publication of the original conference proceedings notes that "[t]he conception of planning as a separate profession was not apparent in the 1909 meeting." *Proceedings of the First National Conference on City Planning: Washington, D.C., May 21-22, 1909*.

[409] The entirety of Marsh's statement is published in *Proceedings of the First National Conference on City Planning: Washington, D.C., May 21-22, 1909*, 5 - 20. In this statement, more so than his opening address at the conference, Marsh outlined a series of specific city planning measures. He argues that the maximum coverage for an interior lot should be two-thirds. Rather than creating universal zoning requirement for an entire city, Marsh argues that cities should create separate districts within different regulations. Speaking specifically about Washington, D.C., Marsh criticized the "cheaply constructed flats," which were not adequately fireproofed.

have been more different. This new conception of planning quickly spread across the individual design professions. One article from *Architectural Record* captures this critical period of transition:

> It is noticeable that the recent city plan reports have been bought out much more modestly. Their various authors seem to have been getting away from the draughting table and the picture plan; and instead of costly books, filled with beautiful photographs and drawings, and putting their emphasis on an architectural civic center, we have small pamphlets, or handbooks, containing much text in which there is earnest discussion of many practical matters and in which the sociological point of view is conspicuous.[410]

In a matter of years, the tides of American planning had shifted—aesthetic beauty had given way to social justice.

5.8 Olmsted's Revolt

Initially, it was unclear whether or not a second national conference on planning would be held. When Benjamin C. Marsh and the CCP spearheaded the first conference, they saw it as a one-off opportunity to discuss the merits of city planning abroad. However, by the end of this monumental meeting, a new organization had been formed, the National Conference on City Planning (NCCP), which sought to make the conference an annual event. Seeing an opportunity to subvert Marsh's influence over the movement, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. inserted himself into the organization's leadership.[411] By November 1909, Olmsted had managed to secure a position on both the Executive Committee of the NCCP and a four-person subcommittee responsible for planning the next year's conference. At the time, Olmsted already had a full list of professional responsibilities: running his own practice, overseeing Harvard's landscape architecture program, and serving as President of the ASLA. So, the simple fact that Olmsted

[410] "New City Plan Reports," *Architectural Record* 35, no. 1 (July 1913): 91.
[411] He did so by insisting that the NCCP leadership be comprised of "representatives from all of the principal engineering, architectural and other societies interested in city planning." As the sitting President of the ASLA, Olmsted was given a seat on the Executive Committee as the delegate representing landscape architects. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States,* 248-250.

would accept appointments to these two committees reveals how important the future of American city planning was within his mind.[412] Through his role on the Executive Committee, Olmsted lobbied to redefine the organization's focus around issues of civic design—rather than discussions urban congestion and social reform.

At the second annual conference on city planning, held May 2-4 of 1910 in Rochester, New York, Olmsted delivered the opening keynote address. Mirroring Marsh's "constructive programme" from the 1909 conference keynote, Olmsted outlined his own tripartite framework for city planning. However, instead of emphasizing the procedures of enacting city planning initiatives (as Marsh had done), Olmsted highlighted three specific design elements: circulation, public space, and private development. According to Olmsted, the treatment of these three elements comprises the fundamental core of city planning. Further elaborating, he argued that the organization of circulation (streets, railroads, waterways, etc.) was the most important aspect since public spaces and private development often come after and respond to the existing circulation patterns. Nowhere in his address did Olmsted mention the crowded living conditions of America's urban poor and working-class populations. Such an omission likely annoyed Marsh, who considered the issue central to the organization's purpose. Instead, Olmsted closed his comments on a subject that Marsh would never have touched: *beauty.* Staking a position in between the idealism of Burnham's City Beautiful and the moralism of Marsh's social reform, Olmsted argued that "[t]he demands of beauty are in large measure identical with those of efficiency and economy...Regard for beauty must neither follow after reward for the practical ends to be obtained nor precede it, but must inseparably accompany it."[413]

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[412] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States,* 249-250.
[413] *Proceedings of the Second National Conference on City Planning and the Problems of Congestions: Rochester, New York, May 2-4, 1910*, (Boston, MA: The University Press, Cambridge, 1910), 30.

Two weeks after the second annual conference, the General Committee of the NCCP met in New York to discuss the future of the organization. At this meeting, Olmsted was elected chairman, while Marsh was not given any role in the organization's leadership. With this decision, Marsh was effectively shut out of the organization that he helped found. His brief reign over American city planning discourse had ended and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. once again became the movement's presumed leader. In 1912, Marsh left the United States to work as a correspondent during the Balkans War. He would later become involved in several reform organizations, such as the Farmers National Council and the People's Reconstruction League, but he never returned to the matter of city planning.

The rise and fall of Benjamin C. Marsh is a fascinating story within the history of American city planning. However, its relevance to the present study regards the fervor with which landscape architects, most notably Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., resisted the social reformers' take-over of the field. As Jon Peterson notes, Olmsted was so dedicated to retaining professional jurisdiction over planning that he was willing "to contest Marsh without stint, no matter what the personal costs in time and energy."[414] By the end of 1910, it was clear that he had succeeded. Olmsted remained a central figure within the NCCP for the next several years, even after leaving his post as President of the ASLA. And while certain aspects of Marsh's reformist approach did have a lasting impact on the field, Olmsted's victory ensured that city planning would remain under the jurisdiction of landscape architects for the time being.

5.9 The Architects' Remorse

In response to these developments in city planning discourse, architects began to change their tone. By 1912, both Charles McKim and Daniel Burnham had died. So, too, had the fervor

[414] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States*, 247.

for City Beautiful Planning. In its place, a new brand of architecture was emerging, one that drew inspiration from the social agendas of the progressive era. Frederick L. Ackerman captured the sentiments of this new movement in a piece for *Architectural Record*:

> We have made the error of allowing the rank and file of the people to see only our artistic side. We have talked too early about the "City Beautiful;" we have not put due weight upon the fact that our aim is first to create the "City of Common Sense."[415]

Adjusting their approach, the AIA established a Special Committee on Town Planning in 1911 to study the numerous aspects of the problem.[416] Individual state chapters contributed to the effort as well. For instance, the Washington State Chapter of the AIA helped create a Municipal Plans League in Seattle in 1909. Applauding this achievement, one commenter noted the divergence from the older traditions of planning: "The basic principles upon which the work has been conducted are unlike the usual city planning schemes, which pay attention to nothing but artistic considerations."[417] In New York City, their state chapter's Heights of Buildings Committee curated an exhibition on American city planning. Among the topics featured were Bridges, Culverts, and Viaducts; Civic Centers and Public Buildings; Fire Protection; Housing; River and Harbor Improvements; Taxation and Assessment Methods; Transportation and Traffic; Waste Disposal; and Water Supply and Water Works.[418] Such a comprehensive exhibition revealed the profession's dramatic pivot away from its prior obsession with beauty and monumentality and toward practical concerns. Soon, it appeared that this new approach was paying off. Commenting on the 1911 National City Planning conference, one contributor to *Architectural Record* boasted,

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[415] Frederick L. Ackerman, "The Architect's Part in the World's Work," *Architectural Record* 37, no. 2 (February 1915): 153.
[416] There had previously been a Special Committee on Municipal Improvements, but it was dissolved in 1909 and no committee specifically addressed the issue of city planning from 1909 - 1910. Curiously, the Committee on Town Planning was renamed as the Committee on Civic Improvements in 1913, but then changed back to its original title in 1914.
[417] "City Planning in Seattle," *Brickbuilder* 21, no. 3 (March 1912): 85.
[418] "An Important American City-Planning Exhibition," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 1, no. 10 (October 1913): 449-451.

"Many architects were present and architectural aspects of town planning naturally had a place on the program."[419]

Within professional publications, several authors laid out arguments explaining why architects were the group best prepared to lead city planning efforts. One critic noted, "The architect is naturally endowed with creative imagination which enables him to have a broader vision in big constructive problems than almost anyone else, and the city planning movement is well deserving of the best use of his faculties and his vigorous co-operation."[420] Another added, "He is a coordinator of many things, and his constant study of bringing things into harmony and proper arrangement enables him to render a service in the field of city planning which no other individual is now trained to render."[421] In addition to these positive characterizations of architects, there were also negative attacks on other design professionals. For instance, one article from *Architectural Record* summarizes a common critique of landscape architects:

> [T]he landscape men have one formula of solution—trees, shrubs, flowers, grass, of one color, green—for most problems, that, in avoiding architectural elements they lose contrast of nature forms with artificial man-made forms, that landscape architects make everything a park, whether it be a plaza or crossing point or street.[422]

Such a criticism was somewhat misguided since the landscape architects had been pioneers in the new mode of city planning. Additionally, the clear-cut separation between architects and landscape architects presumed by this statement was not always the case. For instance, when the AIA established their Special Committee on Town Planning in 1911, they appointed Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. to serve as one of its five members. Nonetheless, these kinds of defensive attacks on competing professions, along with the numerous self-congratulatory appraisals of their

[419] "The City Planning Conference," *Architectural Record* 30, no. 1 (July 1911): 100.
[420] "Editorial Comment and Notes," *Brickbuilder* 25, no. 6 (June 1916): 160.
[421] Frederick L. Ackerman, "The Battle With Chaos," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 3, no. 10 (October 1915): 446.
[422] John Taylor Boyd, Jr., "Architects Versus Landscape Architects as City Planners," *Architectural Record* 42, no. 7 (September 1917): 192.

own abilities, prove that architects saw themselves as the rightful leaders of the city planning movement in the United States.

Despite their appeals for inclusion, the tides of city planning soon shifted away from architects. By 1914, their situation had devolved such that one commenter lamented, "the architects of the country are in the humiliating position of mere followers in a movement where they should be the leaders."[423] Taking their place, he charged, were publicists, sociologists, lawyers, and "dilettanti of various classes."[424] Another author placed the blame on architects themselves: "Architects are the natural leaders in city-planning work, and yet it is a fact that there are barely a half-dozen architects in the country who have shown any active interest in the work of the City Planning conferences."[425] Another commenter agreed with this sentiment in his report from the 1916 National City Planning conference:

> There were perhaps fifteen architects present, about five per cent of the total; and yet, if there is any one subject outside of pure architecture in which they should lead, it is certainly city-planning. They have the ideal training for it, an all-round training that no other group can match, and yet they are allowing engineers and city officials to control and direct this most vital movement.[426]

But regardless of who or what was to blame for the architect's exclusion from city planning decisions, the tone had clearly shifted from optimism to regret and forlorn. Numerous articles published between 1914 and 1917 describe the bleak future of cities designed without architects:

> Unless the architects of the country, generally, take a leading part in the rapidly growing movement of city planning, it will most unfortunately drift into the hands of those who may, indeed, provide plans to which the city will respond in increased efficiency and order, but who cannot infuse these plans that charm and beauty which the architect alone is fitted to supply.[427]

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[423] "Digest of the Proceedings of the Forty-Seventh Annual Convention," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 2, no. 1 (January 1914): 39.
[424] Ibid.
[425] George Ford, "Town Planning and Housing," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 3, no. 4 (April 1915): 171.
[426] "Beauty Snubbed by City-Planners," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 4, no. 6 (June 1916): 297.
[427] "Eighth National Conference on City-Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 4, no. 5 (May 1916): 203. Other architects looked longingly at developments in England and Germany where architects held a more central role in city planning. For instance, see George Ford, "Town Planning and Housing," 171: "Both in Germany and England (to be strictly neutral) the architects have been taking a leading part, as they should, in the remarkable city-planning development which has been taking place in those countries within the last few years." Also see, "Must Town Planners Be Architects," *Architectural Record* 42, no. 5 (November 1911): 506: "'The problem of town planning in its final form is essentially an architectural

For many architects, it was a foregone conclusion. The AIA Committee on Town Planning, which had seven members in 1913, was reduced to only two members in 1914, making it the organization's smallest of all nineteen Standing and Special Committees.[428] Regardless of who was at fault, it seemed as though the profession was ready to acknowledge its defeat in the jurisdictional battle over city planning.

5.10 A Journal for Landscape Architects

While architects lamented their secondary role, landscape architects seized upon the city planning movement as a cornerstone of their professional identity. One tool for exerting their influence in this area was *Landscape Architecture Magazine*. This professional journal, which first appeared in October of 1910, was the brainchild of three graduates of Harvard's landscape architecture program: Henry Vincent Hubbard, Charles Downing Lay, and Robert Wheelwright.[429] Serving as co-editors, this trio curated a discourse on key issues within the profession. According to Hubbard, the magazine was intended to be a "common meeting-ground for exchange of ideas and discussion of points of difference."[430] In addition to these kinds of disciplinary debates, Charles W. Eliot noted its educational benefit to the public at large:

> A few issues of the magazine will put before the public the very practical nature of the profession and its wide scope. The public needs to be taught that landscape architecture embraces city planning, the arrangement of formal courts, playgrounds, and gardens in compactly built cities,

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problem.' This claim, which will seem to most American readers rather large and bold, is made by the Royal Institute of British Architects in a separately published extract from its Journal entitled: 'Suggestions to Promoters of Town Planning Schemes.' The argument is that it is the buildings of the town which 'produce whatever effect, good or bad, is attained;' and, therefore, that the proper planning of a town 'can only properly be performed by one who has had the architectural training necessary to enable him to adjust the proportions of the many parts, so to place the different buildings and group them upon the ground and in relation to each other than when erected they may compose properly.'"

[428] Its size would increase to five members in 1915, but neither of the two members from the 1914 committee stayed on.

[429] Hubbard, the first student to ever graduate with a degree in Landscape Architecture, later taught alongside James Sturgis Pray within Harvard's newly formed graduate school. Lay, who began his education in the School of Architecture at Columbia, transferred to Harvard in 1900 when the landscape architecture program was established. He went on to receive both a Bachelor of Science in Landscape Architecture and a Master in Landscape Architecture there. Wheelwright, the youngest of the three, graduated from Harvard's Master of Landscape Architecture program in 1908. In 1924, he established the Department of Landscape Architecture at the University of Pennsylvania, where he taught until 1941.

[430] Henry Vincent Hubbard, "Editorial," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 1, no. 1 (October 1910): 49.

> the decoration of highways, and the utilization for human enjoyment of such broad open spaces as forests, water-course, cultivated fields, and natural meadows.[431]

It should not go unnoticed that "city planning" appears first in Eliot's list of applications for landscape architecture. This topic, more than garden styles or park design, was the central focus of *Landscape Architecture Magazine*.[432]

And as editors of *Landscape Architecture Magazine*, Hubbard, Lay, and Wheelwright had the power to set the tone for the city planning discussions contained within the journal. To this end, they solicited contributions from their two most influential teachers: Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. and James Sturgis Pray. The essays authored by Olmsted and Pray echoed their teaching styles at Harvard. Both argued that city planning should be guided not by universal ideals, but instead, by a robust understanding of specific contexts. In his 1914 essay, "The Survey for a City Plan," Pray outlined four types of "local data" that should be collected before the design process even begins. These can be generalized as the following categories: *nature*, *society*, *government*, and *economics*.[433] Failure to acknowledge the importance of these pre-existing conditions, he argued, was "the most common cause of unsuccessful attempts at planning and re-planning cities."[434] Significantly, Pray did not believe that this focus on surveying local conditions precluded landscape architects from producing beauty within their

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[431] "Letter from Charles William Eliot, of Harvard," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 1, no. 1 (October 1910): 40.

[432] In assessing the publication's contribution to the broader discourse on city planning, the efforts of one contributor in particular cannot be overstated. Theodora Kimball, Harvard's landscape and planning librarian, produced extensive bibliographies on city planning, which were published in numerous issue of *Landscape Architecture Magazine*. Through her work at Harvard, Kimball went on to develop a Library of Congress Classification for both landscape architecture and city planning. In a profession dominated by men, she was a pioneering intellectual, eventually becoming the first female member of the American City Planning Institute. In 1924, she married her Harvard colleague and *Landscape Architecture Magazine* editor, Henry Vincent Hubbard.

[433] James Sturgis Pray, "The Survey for a City Plan," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 5, no. 1 (October 1914): 5. "*First*, facts of the natural environment, including especially those of climate and topography; *second*, those of the human and humanized environment, the conditions of social life in the community, including housing conditions, working or industrial conditions, education and recreational opportunities, transportation facilities, and conditions of public health and safety... *third*, the significant facts as to the existing legislation and form of government, particularly as relates to the varying out and subsequent maintenance of any planning or re-planning project; and *fourth*, similarly the significant economic and financial conditions obtaining in the particular community, including its natural resources and its commercial and industrial opportunities, the uses to which its land is put, its land values, its methods and extent of taxation, and in general the sources and amount of its income and the amount and apportionment of its expenditure."

[434] Ibid.

plans. In fact, he argued that responding to the realities of the industrial city would naturally lead to results that expressed a more permanent beauty than the superficial beauty of "paper planning":

> The sort of civic beauty which does not grow out of organization for practical efficiency cannot usually be permanent, and that, on the contrary, a city planned perfectly for its practical purposes, like a sailing vessel, so designed, will of necessity possess the highest type of organic beauty, without which all other beauty in the city plan is of little value.[435]

For his part, Olmsted highlighted the importance of collecting and maintaining these various surveys. Speaking to an audience at the Fifth National Conference on City Planning in 1913, he described a hypothetical archive containing detailed records for every aspect of a city:

> These records will relate to the entire physical environment of the people, not merely to the visible aspect of the streets, of the public squares and parks and of the public buildings; but to the locations, grades and other essential facts about all the sewers, conduits, pipes and subways beneath the surface of the streets; all the poles and wires and other objects above the surface; all railways and other special means of public transportation; all catchment areas and waterways, from those which furnish the city water-supply, and from the smallest gutters that take the first rush of storm-water discharge, through reservoirs and ponds, sewers, ditches, and canals, to rivers of the greatest flood capacity in the region; and finally to every piece of land, and every building and improvement thereon, both public and private.[436]

According to Olmsted, no detail of city planning was too small for consideration. For instance, in a 1911 article for *Landscape Architecture Magazine*, he devoted seven full pages of text to the sizing of steps. Nor was a city plan ever complete in his mind. Unlike the monumental schemes of City Beautiful planners, which could be finalized on paper and displayed in gallery exhibitions, Olmsted and Pray preferred to think of the city plan "as a live thing, as a growing and gradually changing aggregation of accepted ideas or projects for physical changes in the city, all consistent with each other, and each surviving, by virtue of its own inherent merit and by virtue of its harmonizing with the rest."[437]

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[435] Ibid., 10.
[436] Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., "A City-Planning Program," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 1, no. 6 (June 1913): 232.
[437] Ibid., 233.

Other contributors to *Landscape Architecture Magazine* reverted to attacks as a means of distinguishing landscape architecture's professional identity from its competitors. Architects, of course, were an easy target. An editorial in the July 1911 issue mocked the City Beautiful planners who "apparently approach the designing of a city much as they might the designing of a rug, considering first its appearance when looked at vertically downward."[438] No specific names were mentioned, but the author did cite four city plans conceived in this manner: Hartford, Cleveland, San Francisco, and Manila. The fact than Daniel Burnham produced three of the four was a clear indication of whom the criticism was intended to implicate. Another author leveled a more petty attack on architects not for their insufficiency in city planning, but in building design:

> [T]he architect may choose the material in which his design is to be carried out; but the city planner has no such control of the buildings which are units in his design. Some of our more recent plans, especially formal schemes for such areas as civic centers, face the danger, for a long time to come, at least, of losing their effect through the presence of insufficient, if not actually obnoxious buildings.[439]

As landscape architects established their own professional identity through the ASLA and *Landscape Architecture Magazine*, their tacit alliances with architects, which had persisted throughout the first decade of the twentieth century, began to dissolve. Increasingly, landscape architects demanded to be seen as independent professionals, who possessed a unique body of expertise for organizing large urban systems.

Beyond the generalized discussions of methods and thinly veiled attacks on competing professionals, *Landscape Architecture Magazine* also provided a venue to display concrete examples of city planning work being done by landscape architects. These projects offered some suggestion of how the abstract principles of city planning could be applied to real-world situations. For instance, an article in the April 1911 issue describes a particular problem in which

[438] "Editorial: City Planning in America," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 1, no. 4 (July 1911): 37.
[439] "Editorial: Precedent in City Planning," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 1, no. 3 (April 1911): 155-156.

a landscape architect was hired to study a stretch of oceanfront property and provide suggestions on how to subdivide the land such that the maximum number of lots have ocean views. Through a series of diagrams, the author illustrates a clever method for increasing the total number of lots with views, while also programming the resulting irregular spaces as public parks (Fig. 5.17).[440] This clear hierarchy between the primary economic problem (the subdivision of building lots) and the secondary recreational problem (the creation of parks) reinforces the willingness of landscape architects to set aside idealistic visions in order to operate as key players within the future development of the modern city.

Aside from lot subdivision, which was a central concern for landscape architects, many city planning projects featured in *Landscape Architecture Magazine* addressed the design and improvement of American streets. With the increased production and availability of automobiles, the problem of organizing vehicular and pedestrian traffic was especially pressing. Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. was among the first landscape architects to offer his own proposal for this problem. His 1910 article, "Street Traffic Studies," shares the notes and findings he compiled while working on a street plan for Pittsburgh. Not surprisingly, he argues against a German method for street design, which relied upon the concept of "collision-points." According to Olmsted, "these theoretical 'collision-points,' all weighted with the same degree of importance, prove nothing at all, and have little relation to the practical handling of traffic at a street intersection."[441] Such a statement emphasizes his larger point that no universal strategy should be applied to all city planning problems. Instead, solutions can only emerge through careful study of particular contexts. Translating this local data into a series of diagrams, Olmsted was able to

[440] Robert A. Pope, "A Town Planning Problem," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 1, no. 3 (April 1911): 124-127.
[441] Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., "Street Traffic Studies," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 1, no. 1 (October 1910): 5.

approximate the hypothetical traffic use of several roadways and then use those approximations to adjust street widths and intersection placements (Fig. 5.18).[442]

In April 1913, a study organized by the National Conference on City Planning was published as a supplement to that month's issue of *Landscape Architecture Magazine*. The committee in charge of the study, which was chaired by John Nolen, invited several teams from the United States and Canada to propose solutions to a hypothetical city planning design problem. The project brief contained a wide range of data for the designers to consider, including information on land values, storm-water, sewers, street lamps, fire hydrants, and building codes. Each proposal was presented through illustrated drawings, as well as statistical figures, such as area used for streets, parks, and salable lots. Although two teams consulted the expertise of an engineer and one included an architect, landscape architects were primary authors of all nine submissions published in the report. Thanks in large part to the efforts of the ASLA and *Landscape Architecture Magazine*, the profession had successfully positioned itself as the rightful authority on matters of city planning. More than a jurisdictional claim, city planning had become the identity of landscape architecture during this period of American history.

In a relatively short timespan, jurisdiction over city planning passed through multiple hands. Prior to the nineteenth century, large-scale urban projects were the domain of engineers. However, as the previous chapter details, architects were eventually able to leverage their artistic sensibilities in order to gain authority at the turn of the twentieth century. Their efforts, which included the Chicago World's Fair and the McMillan Plan for Washington, D.C., left a lasting impression on both America's physical landscape and its cultural imagination. However, by the

[442] For other articles addressing the design of city streets, see J. C. Nichols, "City Planning and real Estate Development," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 7, no. 1 (October 1916): 27-35, and E.P. Goodrich, "The Pedestrian in City Traffic," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 7, no. 4 (July 1917): 195-197.

second decade of the twentieth century, it was becoming clear that landscape architects were the professionals best suited to address the deeper realities of city planning. Leading figures like Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. and James Sturgis Pray developed approaches for pragmatic responsiveness rather than artistic expression. And just as urban boosterism had provided a lift to the City Beautiful planning proposals, the social consciousness of the progressive era benefited landscape architects and the City Practical. After defending their professional turf from intruding social reformers like Benjamin C. Marsh, it appeared that landscape architects could claim city planning all to themselves. Yet, with both landscape architecture and city planning in states of formation and professional boundaries still permeable, the future was far from certain.

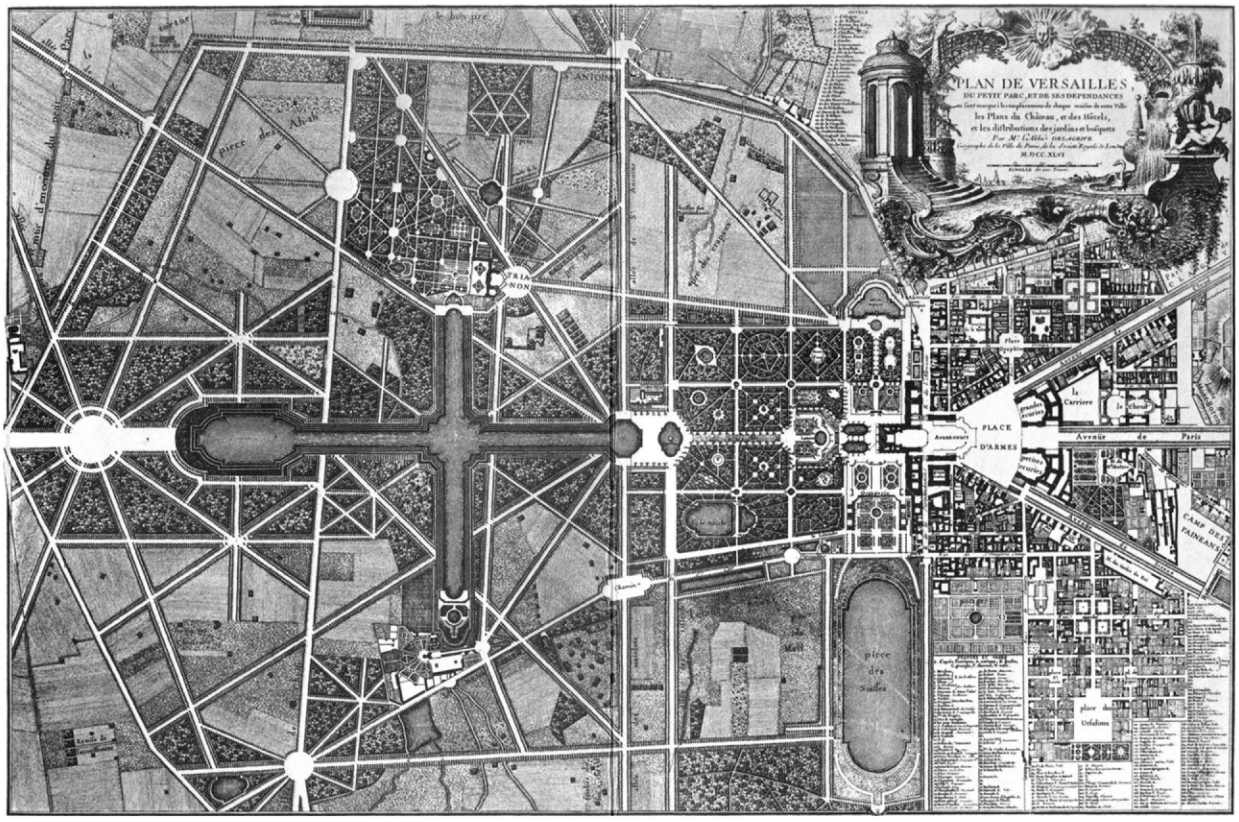
Throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century, professional organizations, including the ASLA and the NCCP, along with publications like *Landscape Architecture Magazine*, played a central role in shaping jurisdictional boundaries and professional identities. Educational institutions were also critical to this process. Harvard led the way, establishing both the first degree program in landscape architecture and the first course in city planning. Other institutions, including Columbia University, the University of Illinois, and the University of Michigan, soon joined the effort.[443] Even some public high schools began including instruction on matters of city planning during this period.[444] Collectively, these educational developments indicated that the design of American cities would be a central project for twentieth-century design professionals. Still, two unanswered questions lurked just beyond the horizon: Would city planning become an independent profession in its own right? And, what role would the

[443] Columbia's courses on city planning were intended for students of economics, fine arts, and architecture. In 1913, the landscape architect and prolific author, Charles Mulford Robinson, became the first chair of Civic Design within the Department of Landscape Gardening at the University of Illinois. The University of Michigan, on the other hand, invited a lawyer rather than a landscape architect, to deliver a series of lectures on city planning in 1916.

[444] Frederick L. Ackerman, "The Battle With Chaos," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 3, no. 10 (October 1915): 445: "In the public schools of New Jersey under the direction of Mr. Dana, city planning is being taught, together with other subjects of a similar nature. Leaflet No. 23 issued by the Superintendent of the Public Schools of Newark illustrates the scope and nature of the work...The child is induced to see that his physical surroundings are not, in many cases, adequate, and he is shown how few changes would be required to make them right."

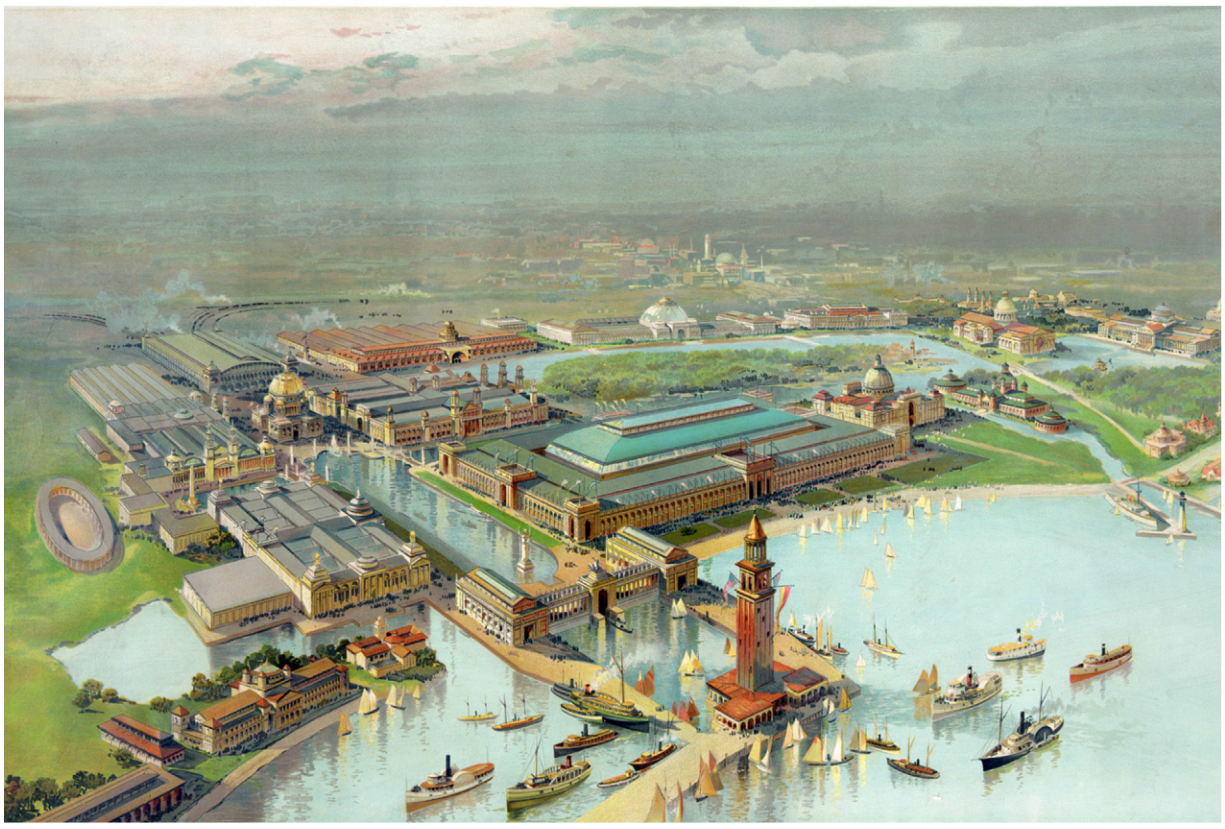
government play in the planning process? The following chapter addresses these questions and their dramatic implications on the professional development of architecture, landscape architecture, and civil engineering.

[Fig. 5.1] : Central Park, designed by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux in 1858.

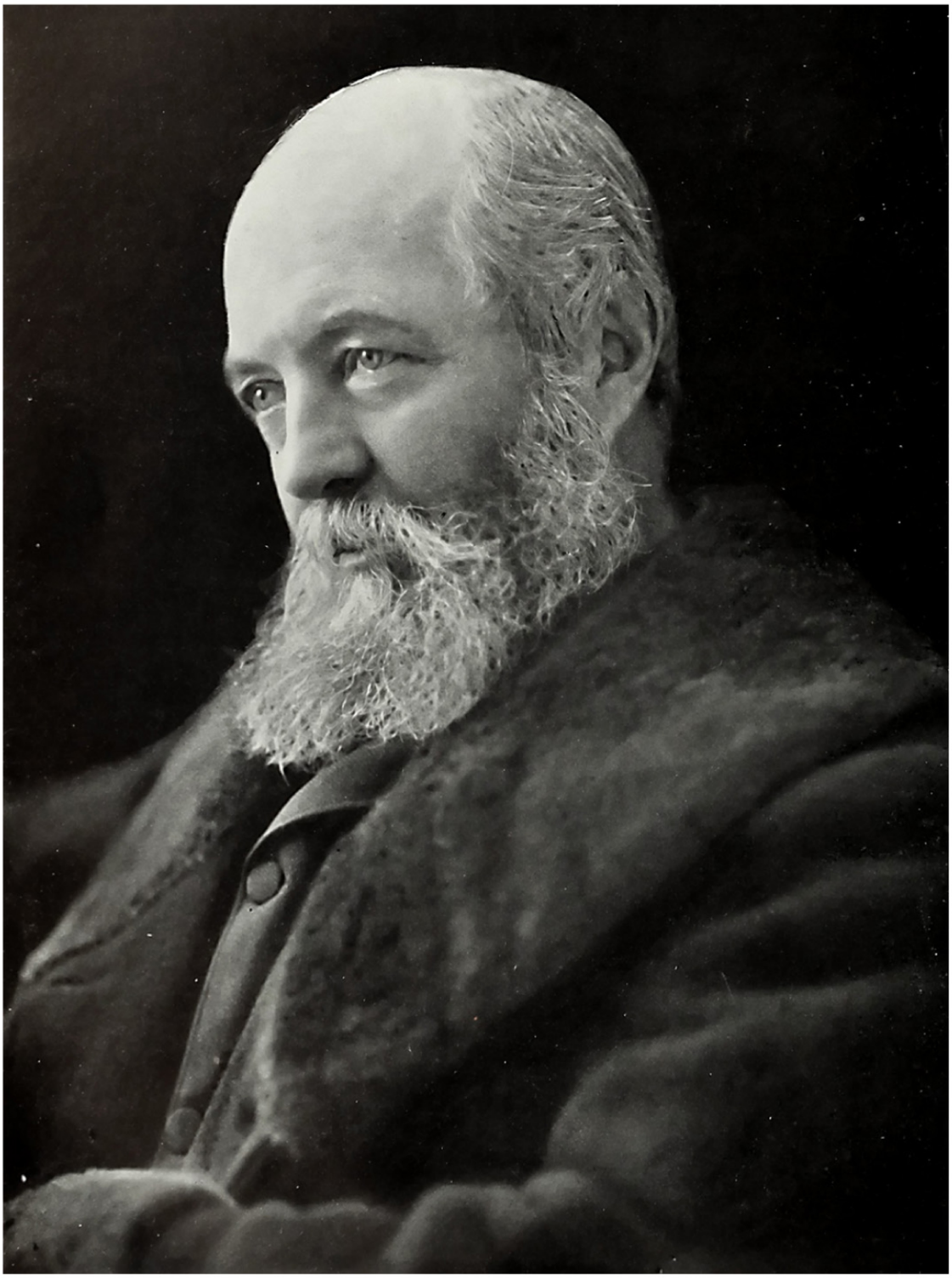


[Fig. 5.2] : Gardens of Versailles, designed by Andre Le Notre in the seventeenth century.

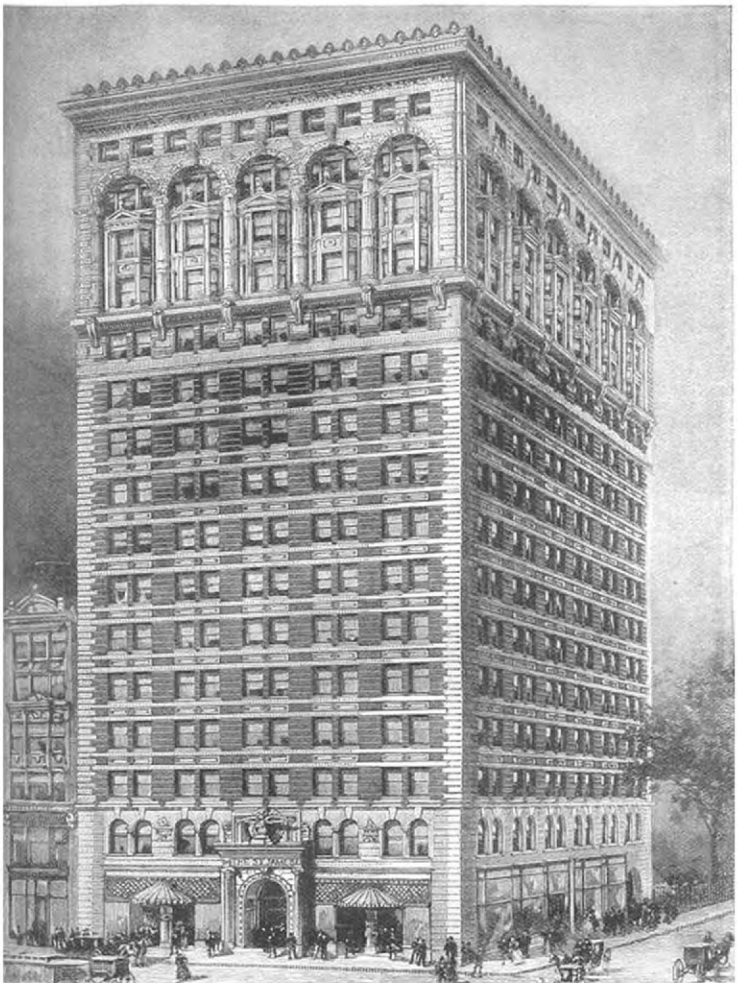
[Fig. 5.3] : Court of Honor at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (1893).



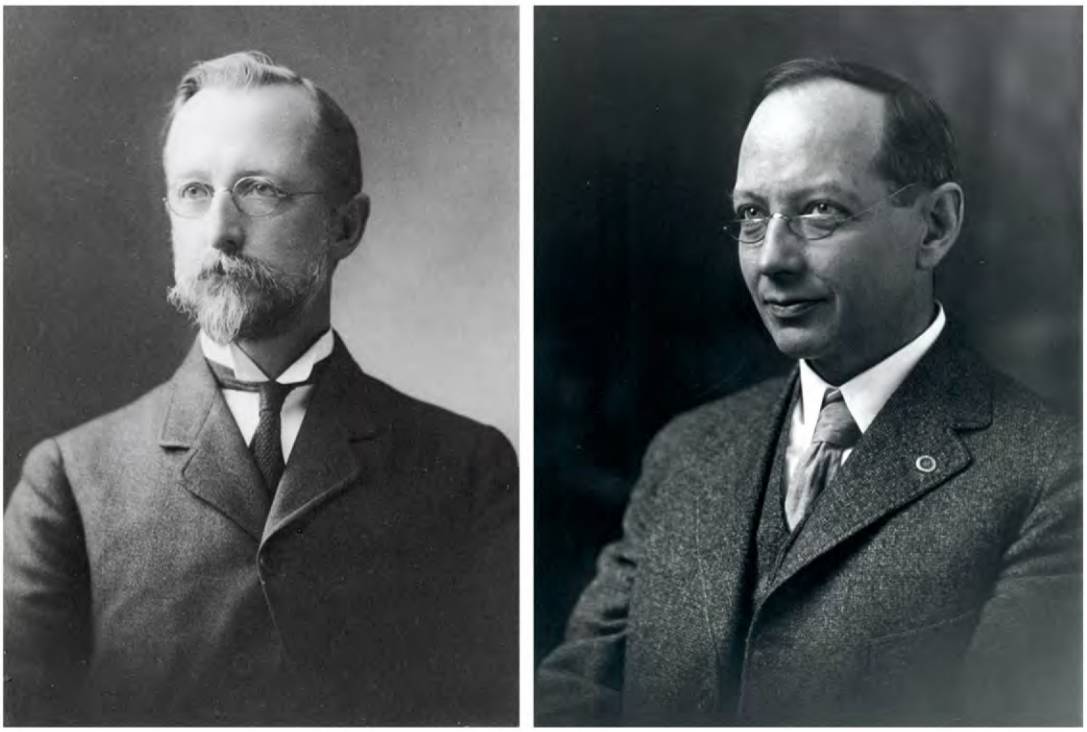
[Fig. 5.4] : Bird's eye perspective of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (1893).



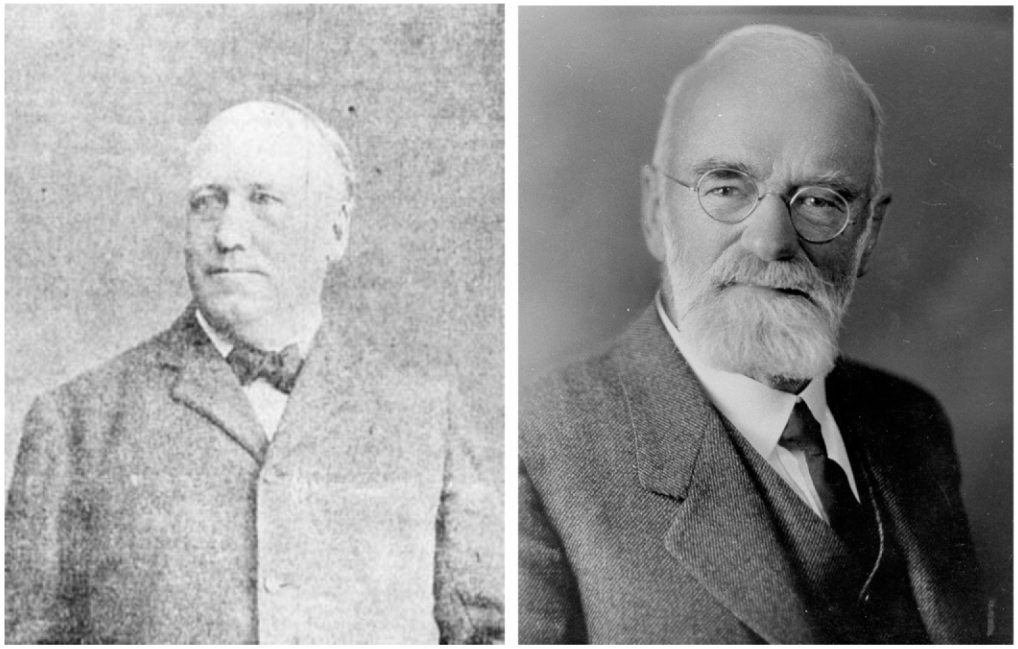
[Fig. 5.5] : Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr.



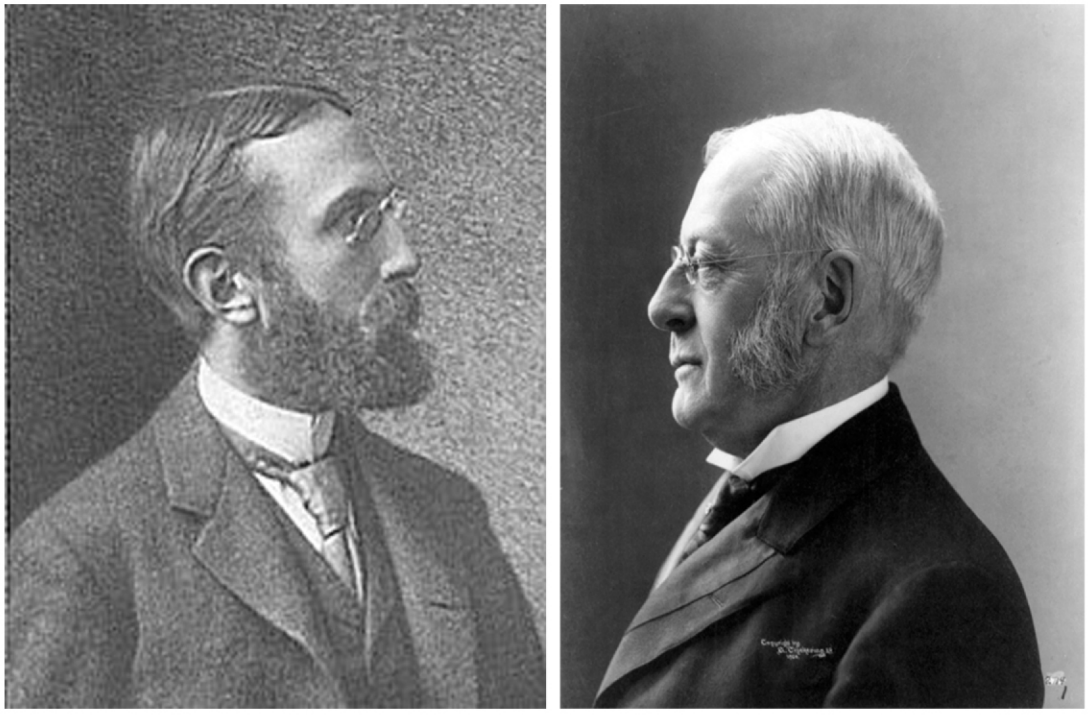
[Fig. 5.6] : St. James Building, site of the first ASLA meeting



[Fig. 5.7] : John Charles Olmsted (left) and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. (right)



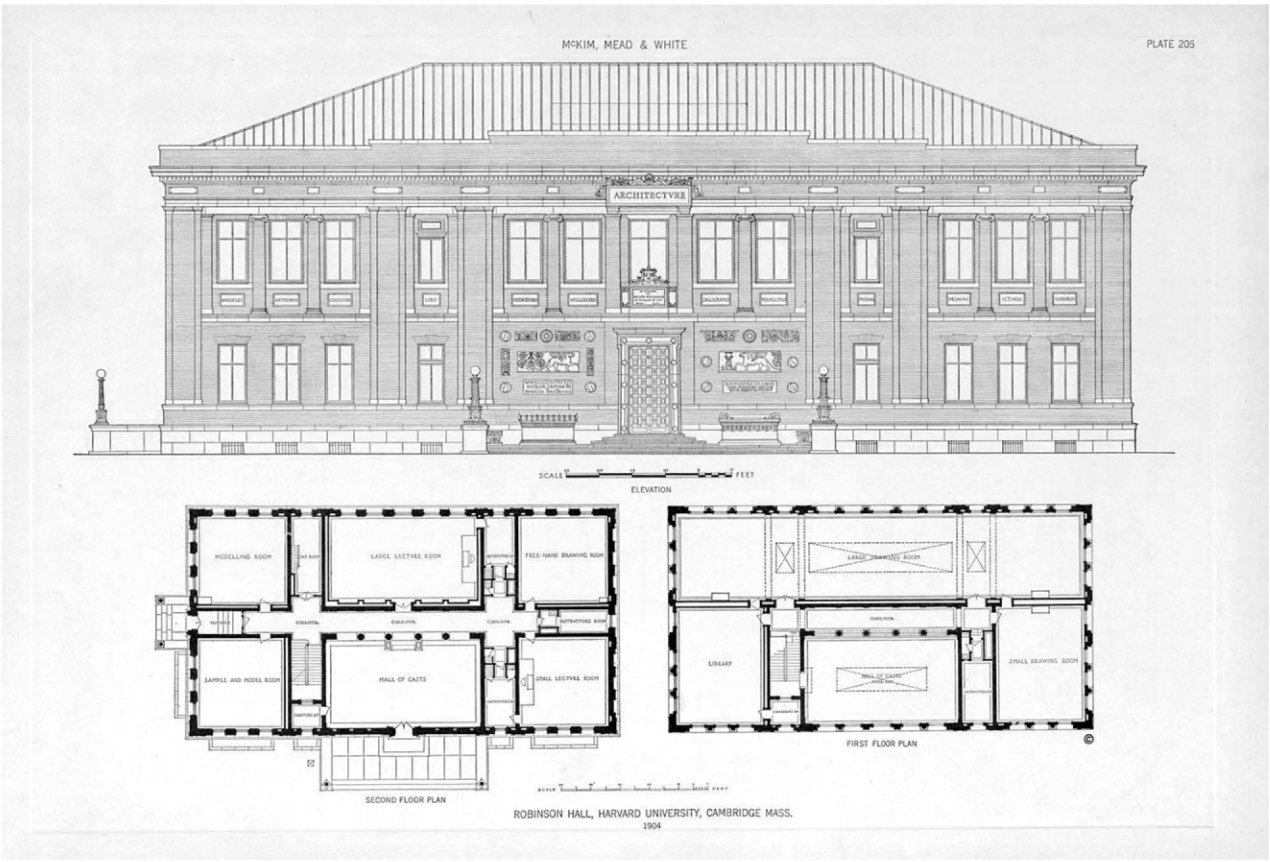
[Fig. 5.8] : Samuel Parsons, Jr. (left) and Warren Henry Manning (right)



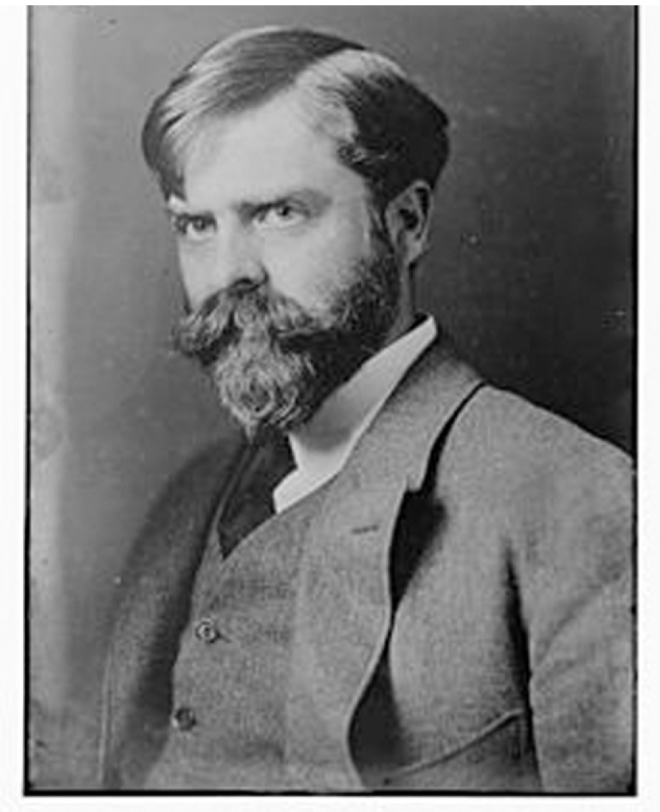
[Fig. 5.9] : Charles Eliot, Jr. (left) and his father, Charles W. Eliot (right)

[Fig. 5.10] : Bussey Institution Building at Harvard

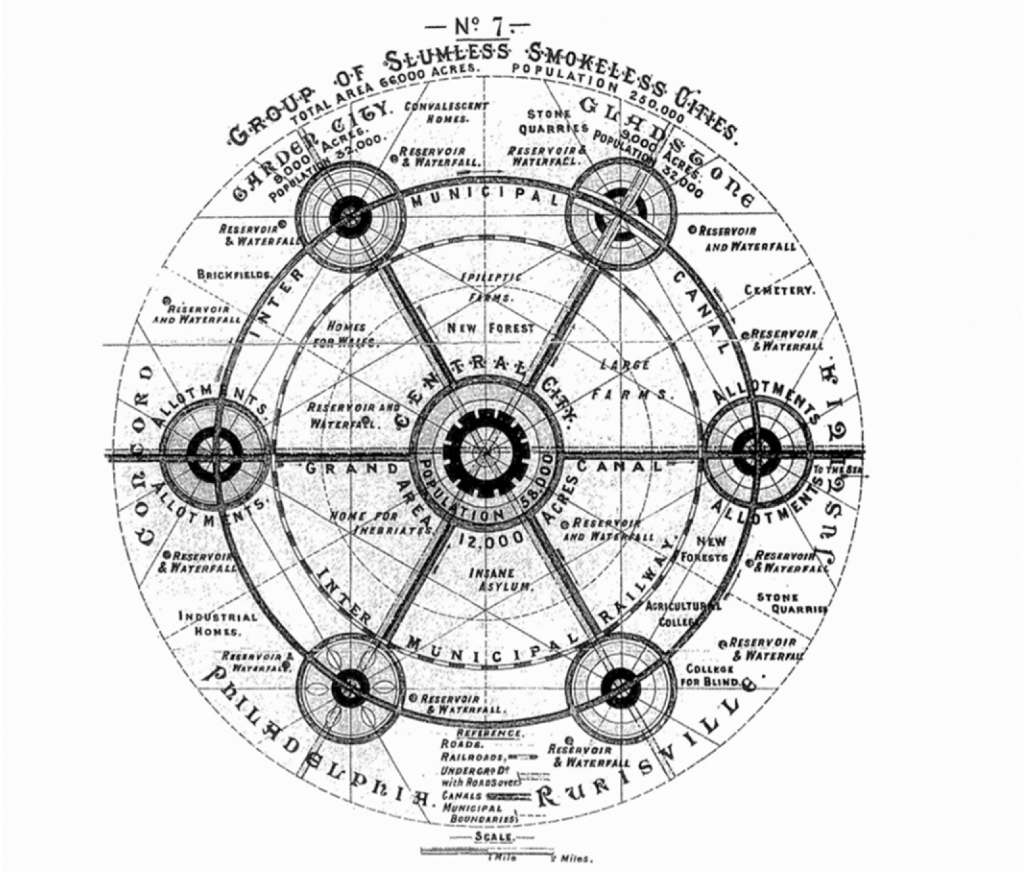
[Fig. 5.11] : Sailors' and Soldiers' Monument on Riverside Drive, New York City



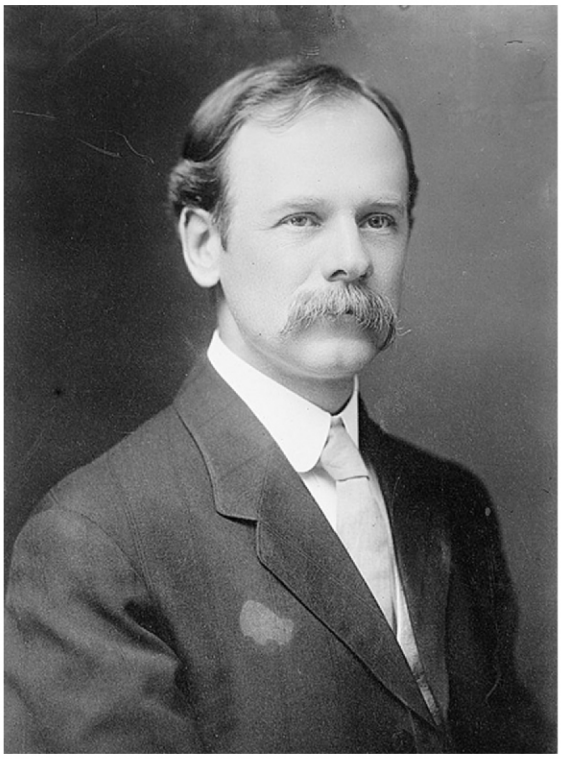
[**Fig. 5.12**] **:** Robinson Hall at Harvard, designed by McKim, Mead, and White



[**Fig. 5.13**] **:** James Sturgis Pray

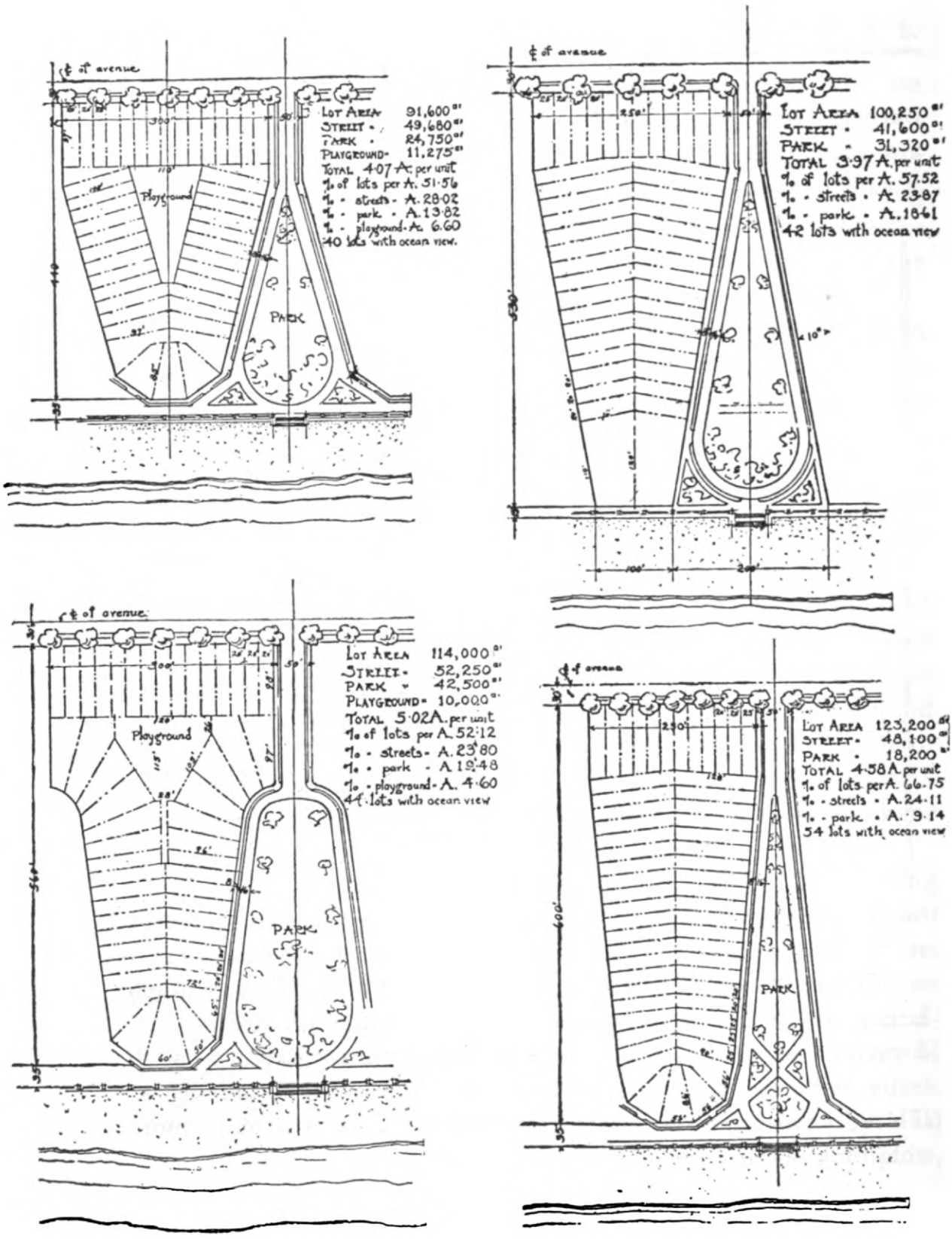


[Fig. 5.14] : Ebenezer Howard's *Garden City* concept diagram (1902)



[Fig. 5.15] : John Nolen

[Fig. 5.16] : Benjamin C. Marsh



[**Fig. 5.17**] **:** Ocean-front lot distribution diagrams by Robert A. Pope, "A Town Planning Problem," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* (1911)

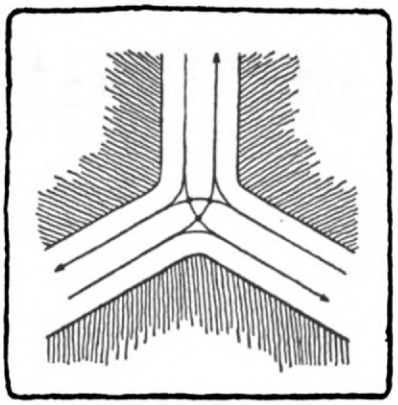


Fig. 1. A three-way intersection, showing three "collision-points." After Sitte, Hénard and others.

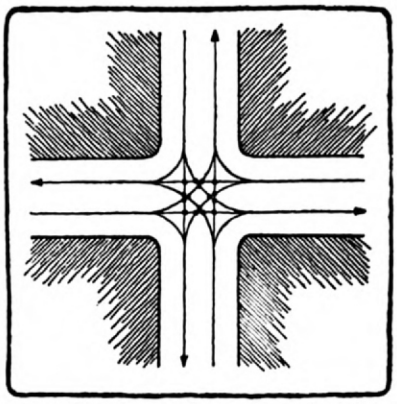


Fig. 2. A four-way intersection, showing "collision-points." After Sitte, Hénard and others

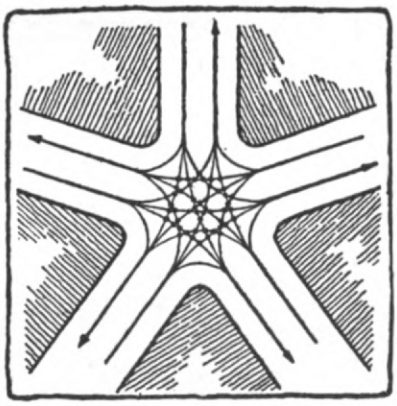


Fig. 3. A five-way intersection, showing fifty "collision-points." After Sitte, Hénard and others.

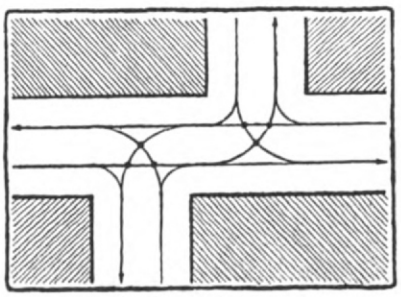


Fig. 4. An offset four-way intersection, showing only six "collision-points" according to principle of Figs. 1, 2, and 3.

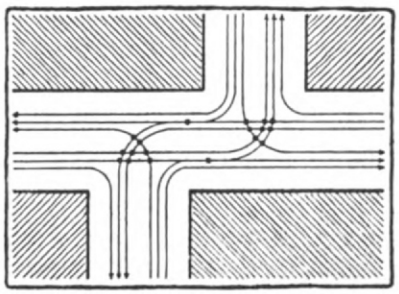


Fig. 5. An offset four-way intersection with all lines of travel indicated separately throughout, showing eighteen "collision-points." After Stübben.

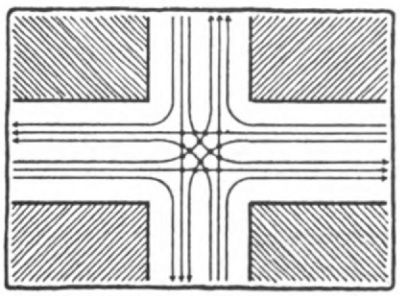


Fig. 6. A straight four-way intersection with all lines of travel indicated separately throughout, showing sixteen "collision-points" just as in Fig. 2. After Stübben.

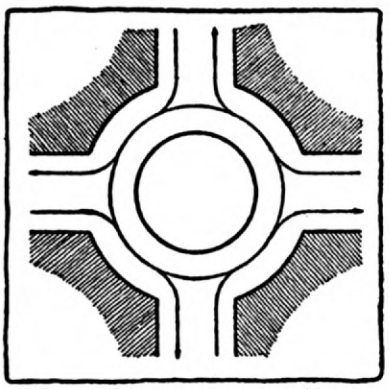


Fig. 7. A four-way intersection with gyratory movement, showing no "collision-points." After Hénard.

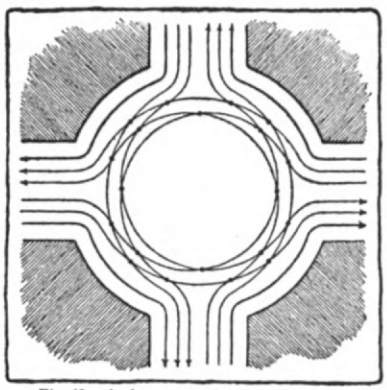


Fig. 8. A four-way intersection on the gyratory plan, showing twenty "collision points."

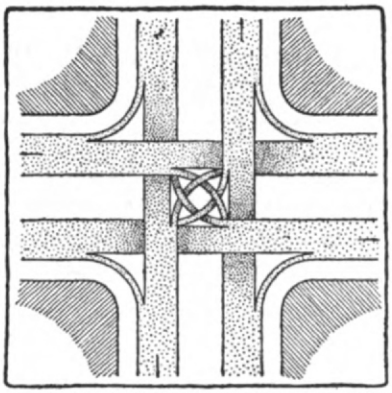


Fig. 9. A four-way crossing, showing by the widths of the bands the relative amounts of traffic over each line for a hypothetical case.

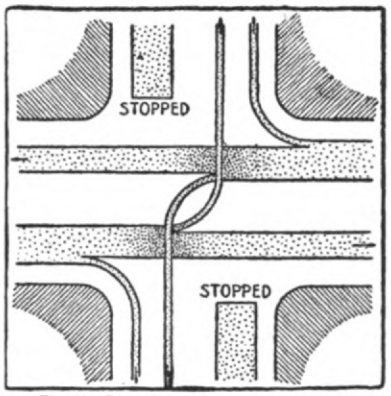


Fig. 10. One of the alternating movements at a normal corner under police regulation: traffic from the east and west streets moving, that from the north and south streets waiting its turn.

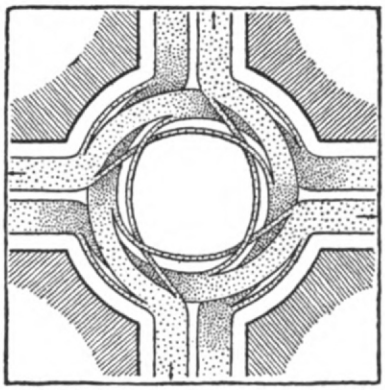


Fig. 11. The same four-way crossing as in Fig. 9, on the gyratory plan, showing by the widths of the bands the relative amounts of traffic over each line.

[**Fig. 5.18**] **:** Traffic flow diagrams by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., "Street Traffic Studies," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* (1910)

CHAPTER 6. INDIVIDUATION

Prior to World War I, jurisdictional boundaries between and among the American design professions were provisional and fluid. The historical development of city planning in the United States illustrates this point. As discussed in the preceding chapters, civil engineers, architects, and landscape architects each had a run as the primary planning authorities in the early twentieth century. During the interwar years, however, it became evident that city planning could not be contained within any existing profession, but would, instead, demand its own discourses and practices. Meanwhile, the jurisdictional boundaries among architecture, civil engineering, and landscape architecture became increasingly fixed, as each profession sought to define its own role within a rapidly changing society. This final chapter chronicles the individuation of the American design professions in the years leading up to and following World War I. Whereas each of the previous chapters is organized around a single narrative, this final chapter surveys a broad range of developments across the four professions. The resulting picture illustrates the ways in which each design discipline came to terms with newly formed jurisdictional boundaries through negotiations between industry and regulation, technology and nature, politics and society.

6.1 The Professionalization of Planning

6.1.1 Steps Toward Independence

While the National Conference on City Planning broadened the public's awareness of planning issues, it did not initially produce a separate body of planning professionals. Instead, the NCCP was comprised of members who held some other professional title: landscape

architect, real estate developer, municipal engineer, and so on. In 1915, however, the leadership began taking steps that would put city planning on a path to becoming its own, independent profession. The first critical move in this effort was the creation of a professional publication for planners, *The City Plan.* Describing their journal as a venue for the "discussion of ideas and comparison of experiences," the editors of *City Plan* expressed an interest in teaching citizens "to discriminate between temporary schemes for the city beautiful and orderly city building."[445] Already, this mission foreshadowed a shift from artistic inclinations to regulatory tactics.

The first article published in *City Plan*, authored by Charles W. Eliot II, reaffirmed the close connection between landscape architecture and city planning.[446] According to Eliot, "the main work of landscape architects is likely to be the making of wise plans for new cities, towns, and villages, the improvement of existing municipalities, and the planning of 'garden cities' near new factories or mines and in the vicinity of closely built and crowded cities."[447] Eliot's appeal echoed earlier arguments by key figures like Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. and James Sturgis Pray. However, the certainty of landscape architecture's role in the development of planning would soon be called into question. Within the pages of *City Plan*, a new professional voice emerged, one that was more closely aligned with politics and governance. In fact, contributions by landscape architects represented only a small fraction of the total contributions within the early issues of this new journal. But instead of familiar competitors, such as architects or radical reformers, this new challenge to landscape architecture's jurisdiction was launched by mayors, municipal engineers, and planning commissioners. Unsurprisingly, these politically-minded contributors viewed city planning quite differently than landscape architects. With virtually no

[445] "Forward," *The City Plan* 1, no. 1 (March 1915): 1.
[446] Charles W. Eliot II was the grandson of Harvard University President Charles W. Eliot. He graduated with a Masters degree from Harvard's School of Landscape Architecture in 1923.
[447] Charles W. Eliot, "The Landscape Architect as the Ally of the Sanitarian," *The City Plan* 1, no. 1 (March 1915): 2.

concern for the physical form of the city, they measured planning according to economic and social metrics. As city planning developed into an independent profession over the next several years, this fissure between urban form and economic/social performance would become even more dramatic.

In addition to establishing a professional journal, the leadership of the NCCP made another move that guided city planning toward professional independence. At their ninth annual conference in 1917, the executive committee voted to establish a separate professional organization, The American City Planning Institute (ACPI). The announcement published within the conference proceedings notes that this new organization would not change "the character of the Conference, except such as will come from a closer alliance with technically trained men."[448] From this statement, it is clear that NCCP leaders aimed to position the National Conference as a broader coalition for city planning, while reserving the ACPI for those who held the proper expertise and training to be considered "professional planners." Among the twenty-one experts selected to serve on the ACPI's Board of Governors were five municipal engineers, four landscape architects, three lawyers, two architects, two politicians, two businessmen, two representatives from other civic organizations, and one housing reformer.[449] While landscape architects may have viewed this breakdown as an indication of their slipping grasp on city planning, there was a silver lining. In addition to appointing the Board of Governors, the NCCP leadership also elected a President, Vice-President, and Secretary for the newly created ACPI.[450]

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[448] *Proceedings of the Ninth National Conference on City Planning* (New York: National Conference on City Planning, 1917), 302

[449] Ibid. Among the members of the Board of Governors were architects, landscape architects, lawyers, and even a former Tax Commissioner. Of course, the fluid nature of professions during this period makes it difficult to precisely delineate between these occupational titles. Many of the professionals appointed to the Board of Governors regularly moved between the fields of civil engineering, architecture, and landscape design.

[450] Ibid.

The organization's first President was none other than the preeminent landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.[451]

Following the establishment of a professional journal—*The City Plan*—and a professional organization—The American City Planning Institute—several educational pathways soon opened up for aspiring city planners. Although courses in city planning had been offered at several institutions since 1909, no university offered a degree in the subject during the first two decades of the twentieth century. In fact, it was not until 1923 that students could earn a city planning degree in the United States. Given their track record for innovation in design education, it was no surprise that Harvard led the way. Housed within the Graduate School of Landscape Architecture, Harvard's new program awarded graduates the degree of "M.L.A. in City Planning."[452] Six years later, the city planning program would become its own school alongside architecture and landscape architecture.[453] With substantial progress made on a number of fronts, all indications pointed to the fact that city planning was emerging as an independent profession.[454]

It is important to note here that the professional development of city planning was neither centralized nor linear. Instead, the field of planning emerged through an abundance of overlapping interests. While the ACPI and its official organ, *The City Plan*, were crucial to the

[451] Ibid. For Vice-President the NCCP chose Nelson P. Lewis, Chief Engineers of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment in New York City. The roles of Secretary and Treasurer were filled by Flavel Shurtleff of Boston Massachusetts. For the next two years, the ACPI organized and sponsored the annual conferences on city planning. Following the 1919 conference in Buffalo, however, the Board of Governors voted to re-establish the NCCP as the organization in charge of the annual meeting. Many of the original board members stayed on during this organizational switch.

[452] Charles W. Eliot II, "City Planning Instruction in American Colleges and Universities," *City Planning* 1, no.2, 113. A 1925 article by Charles W. Eliot II provides a detailed survey of city planning education in the United States. His list includes more than a dozen universities offering courses in city planning, but notes that only one university (Harvard) awarded a degree in this subject

[453] The separation of these three schools did not last long. In 1936, they were brought together under one umbrella as the Graduate School of Design.

[454] Following Harvard's lead, many other institutions developed curricula focusing on city planning. For instance, MIT approved a program resulting in a Masters of City Planning in 1935. Ten years later, the University of Illinois approved a similar program. In 1946 and 1947, respectively, the University of North Carolina and the University of Chicago established planning programs that had no association with schools of architecture or landscape architecture. These educational developments underscore the larger point that city planning was becoming increasingly independent from the other design professions during the first half of the twentieth century.

effort, other organizations and publications soon appeared alongside them. In 1923, for instance, a small group of architects, landscape architects, and cultural critics who shared a common interest in the study and improvement of American cities founded the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA).[455] Then, in 1925, the American Society of Planning Officials was formed as an entirely separate professional organization.[456] Journals like *The American City, Town Planning Review* (U.K.), and *Public Management* fed the public's growing thirst for expert opinions on urban growth.[457] Given its interdisciplinary nature, city planning continued to draw upon the professions of architecture, landscape architecture, and civil engineering. Nonetheless, by the end of World War I, it was clear that city planning would not remain under the jurisdiction of any of these other three design fields. Additionally, it had become equally clear that the profession of city planning would have a much closer relationship to municipal government than either architecture or landscape architecture. While contemporary readers might take this relationship for granted, it is worth contemplating the underlying significance of such a marriage between planning and governance.

6.1.2 Design and the State

Arguments for the establishment of city planning departments within municipal governments appeared frequently after 1909.[458] One of their chief advocates was Frederick Law

[455] For a detailed account of the RPAA, see Edward K. Spann, *Designing Modern America: The Regional Planning Association of America and its Members* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1996).
[456] In 1939, the American City Planning Institute (ACPI) changed its name to the American Institute of Planners (AIP). Then, in 1978, the American Society of Planning Officials merged with the American Institute of Planners to form the American Planning Association (APA).
[457] Sociologists also took notice of urban development during this period. At the University of Chicago, a group of theorists, including Ernest Burgess, Nels Anderson, and others, wrote extensively about the sociological implications of the industrial city. Their efforts helped form the "Chicago School" of urban sociology.
[458] Sociologists and historians have often debated whether professions operate in opposition to or in alliance with government. In his book, *The Death of the Guilds: Professions, States, and the Advance of Capitalism*, Elliot Krause describes the complex dynamics of professional autonomy within the American system of government. Ultimately, Krause's assessment leads him to argue that the majority of power resides with capitalism and the state, rather than professional expertise. However, other scholars have pointed out that such an interpretation relies on the flawed assumption that professions are separable from government and

Olmsted, Jr. In his keynote address to the Fifth National Conference on City Planning in 1913, Olmsted laid out his vision for the future of city planning in the United States:

> Let us first get before our eyes the clearest image we can of City Planning as a successful going concern, fully established in the framework of municipal government, accepted and supported by public opinion as firmly as the public-school system or the fire department.[459]

In the same speech, Olmsted went on to define three primary responsibilities of the City Plan Office: 1) To preserve records regarding the city plan, 2) To interpret the city plan, and 3) To amend the city plan, when necessary.[460] According to Olmsted, the City Plan Office "will have the defects as well as the advantages connoted by the word *bureaucracy*."[461] But other critics were not so ready to see city planning absorbed into the government apparatus. Writing in 1915, for instance, Walter D. Moody argued for an independent "Plan Commission" rather than a government-operated "Plan Office."

> Rarely in this county is city-planning work initiated by the municipal government. Where this is the case, the highest degree of success is not attained. The best results have been had where the city-planning movement originated with a group of substantial public-spirited citizens, or under the auspices of commercial or civic organizations.[462]

Moody's position was informed by his own experience. At the time of writing, he was the managing director of the Chicago Plan Commission. In contrast to Olmsted's vision, Moody's proposed Plan Commission would serve "as the intermediary between the city authorities and the people."[463]

Regardless of which organizational structure they favored, commenters during this period unanimously characterized city planning as an altruistic enterprise, intended to benefit the lives

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the structures of modern capitalism. For instance, see Daniel Rossides, *Professions and Disciplines: Functional and Conflict Perspectives* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1998), 41. While the nuances of this relationship could be debated for the professions of architecture, landscape architecture, and civil engineering, there is no denying the fact that city planning fused with municipal government during the early twentieth century.

[459] *Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference on City Planning,* 2.

[460] Ibid., 3-7.

[461] Ibid., 8.

[462] Walter D. Moody, "How to Go About City Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 3, no. 9 (September 1915): 393.

[463] Ibid., 394. Moody's Plan Commission shares many organizational similarities with the numerous Arts Commissions that appeared during this same time period.

of all city-dwellers. However, some contemporary scholars have taken a notably different stance. M. Christine Boyer, for instance, has argued that city planning became an instrument of disciplinary control during the early twentieth century. Drawing heavily upon the work of Michel Foucault, Boyer illustrates how the planning profession was absorbed within the dynamics of public policy and government regulation, emphasizing quantitative, economic instrumentalities rather than qualitative, material outcomes. Her 1986 book, *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning*, details the shift from discussions of *harmony* and *upliftance* to discussions *expertise* and *control.* According to Boyer, this shift represents "a radical realignment of [city planning] discourse."[464] Interestingly, the discourse history that Boyer charts directly aligns with planning's integration into city government. And while contemporary readers may or may not accept Boyer's critique of the profession, it must be acknowledged that the tools and techniques of planning were significantly altered as a result of its transition into a governmental department.

In the United States, the role of government has historically been defined around the protection of rights, for both individuals and organized groups. Significantly, the laws that protect against infringement upon these rights are structured as negative (rather than affirmative) statements. That is to say, laws define what a citizen or organization *cannot* do rather than defining what is permissible within the law. So, when city planning transitioned from an independent design field into an instrument of municipal government, its approach had to similarly become restrictive rather than creative. Instead of generating proposals for ideal urban forms, government-planning officials were charged with the task of eliminating the most harmful kinds of urban congestion and chaotic development. Initially, this new, restrictive approach

[464] M. Christine Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning,* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1986), 3.

might seem to indicate a complete rejection of large-scale planning thought. After all, if the role of the planning department is only to prevent specific conditions that have been deemed undesirable, then how could it ever produce a coherent, unified vision for the modern metropolis? In order to address this question, some planners advocated for laws and regulations that occupied a space in between prescription and restriction. Noting the close connection between the layout of streets and the size of individual lots, for instance, Lawrence Veiller argued that reducing the depth of lots in tenement districts would automatically eliminate the crowded, dark conditions that many housing reformers denounced.[465] Others focused their attention on the chaotic distribution of residential, industrial, and commercial buildings. In responding to this problem, planning officials produced one of the most influential legislative ideas in modern history: zoning.

6.1.3 The Invention of Zoning

The battle for zoning restrictions occurred at the intersection of economic and formal concerns. For those invested in urban real estate, the chaotic distribution of building types posed a serious problem. According to M. Christine Boyer, "Intensive development and random assortments of land uses were destructive to the best real estate investments and throttled a rapid pace of building activity. Thus a disciplinary order—a set of land-use plans and zoning regulations—needed to be placed upon these effects of congestion."[466] Such a consensus was not limited to business leaders and land investors. Nelson P. Lewis, New York City's municipal engineer, outlined a similar argument for zoning:

> The natural result of a poor utilization of its land area by a city is high rents for occupiers and low profits for investors. It may seem paradoxical to hold that a policy of building restrictions tends to

[465] Lawrence Veiller, "Buildings in relation to Street and Site," In *Proceedings of the Third National Conference on City Planning* (New York: National Conference on City Planning, 1911), 82-86.
[466] Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City,* 83.

> a fuller utilization of land that a policy of no restriction; but such is undoubtedly the case. The reason lies in the greater safety and security to investment secured by definite restrictions. The restrictions tend to fix the character of the neighborhood.[467]

Others framed the issue according to aesthetic (rather than economic) concerns. For them, the juxtaposition of factories, tenement houses, and office buildings produced an unsightly and chaotic environment. This point was often illustrated through cartoons that personified the various land uses and emphasized the problems created by their close proximity (Fig. 6.1). The fact that the most powerful illustrations from this period displayed negative images of the city (as opposed to the celebratory illustrations of the City Beautiful era) reinforces the point that the tactical operations of city planning had fundamentally changed. Regardless of their reasoning, experts within city planning and its associated design professions agreed that zoning was essential to the future development of American cities.

In 1916, New York City passed the nation's first citywide zoning resolution. Prepared by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, this resolution established restrictions for building heights, lot coverage, and general use. As numerous historians have pointed out, the height restrictions—intended to ensure ample light and air for city streets—were proposed primarily in response to the 40-story Equitable Building, which was completed in 1915 (Fig. 6.2). A set of evocative drawings by Hugh Ferriss illustrated the new setback requirements, capturing their profound implications for architectural form (Fig. 6.3). Yet, while many historians have emphasized the height restrictions and setback rules, the land-use regulations were equally transformative. In their report on the building zone plan, the Board of Estimate and Apportionment made their use recommendations clear:

> A building is usually appropriately located when it is surrounded by buildings of similar type and use...The residence sections should be protected against unnecessary invasion by commercial and industrial uses.[468]

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[467] Nelson Lewis, *The Planning of the Modern City* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1916), 348.
[468] City of New York, Board of Estimate and Apportionment, *Final Report*, June 2, 1916, 215.

These same principles would later become central tenets of the 1922 Standard State Zoning Enabling Act, authored by the Department of Commerce under the direction of Herbert Hoover. This piece of legislation provided a model for states and municipalities to follow in drafting their own zoning regulations.

Given the emphasis on individual freedom within American thought, it is not surprising that the constitutionality of zoning came under question in the early twentieth century. In 1926, the Supreme Court heard arguments for and against zoning in the case of *Village of Euclid vs. Ambler Realty.*[469] Ultimately, the court found that local municipalities do, in fact, have the constitutional right to restrict private development through land use regulations. In the years following this landmark decision, many other cities and towns across the country instituted their own zoning laws. City planning, once a design field structured around principles of beauty, monumentality, and spectacle, had fully transformed into a regulatory arm of municipal government.

6.2 Whither Landscape?

The emergence of planning as an independent design profession dealt a strong blow to American landscape architects, who were initially positioned as leaders in the realm of city design. One way that landscape architects responded to this jurisdictional shake-up was to refocus their attention on more remote environments. Yet, the converging forces of urbanization, modernization and industrialization had dramatically altered the intellectual frameworks through which Americans conceived of the natural landscape. Whereas nineteenth-century Americans drew connections between wilderness and national identity, twentieth-century Americans were

[469] For a more detailed account of this case, see Michael Allan Wolfe, *The Zoning of America: Euclid v. Ambler* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2008).

more likely to define their identities around notions of technological progress. This change is understandable, since a wave of natural disasters, most notably the 1906 earthquake and fire in San Francisco, had demonstrated the danger and unpredictability of untamed nature (Fig. 6.4). At any rate, this shift in values worked to the detriment of landscape architects, whose authority as expert-stewards of the natural landscape became increasingly marginalized. The controversy over a proposed dam and reservoir in Yosemite National Park illustrates the problematic dimensions of this development.

6.2.1 The Hetch Hetchy Valley Controversy

In July of 1914, *Landscape Architecture Magazine* published a lengthy article by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. outlining the pros and cons of the Hetch Hetchy Valley dam and reservoir proposal. Essentially, the plan called for damming the Tuolumne River, thereby creating a reservoir within the Yosemite National Park that would provide water to the greater San Francisco area. In outlining both sides of the argument, Olmsted weighed the financial benefits against the aesthetic losses with as much objectivity as possible. According to Olmsted, three primary criteria should be used to make the decision for or against the proposal: 1) the effect of the proposal upon the value of the Yosemite National Park, 2) the economic advantages of the proposal, and 3) to whom should the economic advantages accrue.[470] The third point is critical for Olmsted, because the proposed dam and reservoir would primarily serve the city of San Francisco, while any depreciation in value of the National Park would be a loss for the nation as a whole.

[470] Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., "Hetch Hetchy: The San Francisco Water-Supply Controversy," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 4, no. 2 (January 1914): 37.

Ultimately, Olmsted's verdict hinged upon his belief that the best views of the Hetch Hetchy Valley were those obtained from its base looking up at the sides of the cliffs.[471] This idea was supported by countless artistic renderings of the park—in prose, poetry, and paint—conceived from the perspective of this lower vantage point (Fig. 6.5-6.6).[472] The proposed reservoir, of course, would flood the valley floor and eliminate that experience of Yosemite altogether. Upon stating this reasoning, Olmsted made his professional judgment clear:

> The United States deliberately undertook to preserve the scenery of the Yosemite National Park intact for the enjoyment of all future generations. The people of the United States are not yet so poor that they cannot afford to persevere in this purpose. To use the Hetch-Hetchy as a San Francisco reservoir site would be to abandon that purpose by indirection, and would establish a precedent for abandoning the purpose of any and every park in case it conflicts with any considerable utilitarian interests.[473]

Despite the landscape architects' pleas for conservation, the utilitarian ethos of the early twentieth century proved too strong to overcome. Olmsted's aesthetic appreciation of the natural environment simply did not align with a modern value system that prioritized technological progress and efficiency over the preservation of natural beauty. Initial construction for the project began in 1914 with a railroad to transport materials directly to Yosemite. By 1923, the O'Shaughnessy Dam—named for its lead engineer—was completed (Fig. 6.7). Over the next few months, water flowing from Tuolumne River slowly submerged the celebrated valley floor of Hetch Hetchy, precluding the awe-inspiring views celebrated by nineteenth-century Americans like John Muir, Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., and Albert Bierstadt.

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[471] Ibid., 43.
[472] For instance, see Albert Bierstadt, *The Hetch Hetchy Valley* (1890) or Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., *Yosemite and the Mariposa Grove: A Preliminary Report* (1865).
[473] Olmsted, Jr., "Hetch Hetchy," 46. Olmsted was not the first to advocate for preserving the natural beauty of the Hetch Hetchy Valley. Several environmentalists, most notably John Muir, had expressed similar sentiments during the late nineteenth century when reservoir proposals were first proposed.

6.2.2 The Olmsteds in Los Angeles

The controversy over Hetch Hetchy was not an isolated event. Throughout the early decades of the twentieth century, landscape architects regularly saw their expert recommendations ignored by politicians and the public at large. And, as the Hetch Hetchy example illustrates, even the nation's preeminent landscape architects could not sway the tides of public opinion. Therefore, it is not surprising that Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. expressed some hesitation when his firm was asked to produce a comprehensive plan for the city of Los Angeles in the late 1920s.[474] Interestingly, this request did not come from an official body of city government, but instead, from a privately run committee within the Chamber of Commerce. After decades of explosive growth, Los Angeles' civic leaders were concerned about the utter lack of public parks. While many committee members may have been motivated by the altruistic prospect of bettering their city's parklands, the potential growth in tourism business is what ultimately led the Chamber of Commerce to devote $100,000 to the project. After careful consideration, Olmsted eventually decided to accept the commission, working in collaboration with Harland Bartholomew and Associates of St. Louis. Over the course of three years, the team made extensive surveys of the greater Los Angeles area with special attention to its lack of public recreational spaces. In March of 1930, they presented their recommendations in the form of a comprehensive, 178-page plan entitled, *Parks, Playgrounds and Beaches for the Los Angeles Region.*

[474] The Olmsteds had initially been asked to develop a plan for Los Angeles in 1910. Responding to a request from the city's newly formed City Planning Committee, John Charles Olmsted insisted upon a charter amendment that would employ a commission of experts to oversee the plan and advise changes in the future. As Greg Hise and William Deverell point out, this amendment was non-negotiable for Olmsted: "Without the formation and institutionalization of this political structure, he stated, 'I am not sure that I care to take up the matter.'" Greg Hise and William Deverell, *Eden by Design: The 1930 Olmsted-Bartholomew Plan for the Los Angeles Region* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 19. A similar charter amendment had passed in Seattle in 1908, but Los Angeles's Committee on City Planning ultimately decided not to pursue such legislation nor did they hire the Olmsteds at that time. Instead, the committee voted to fund a large-scale aqueduct and harbor improvements. Hise and Deverell, *Eden by Design*, 20.

Organized into eight chapters, the Olmsted/Bartholomew report covers a wide range of topics specific to the city of Los Angeles. For instance, the authors discuss the city's low density (compared to other major metropolitan areas) and its effect on the allocation of parklands. Other considerations include climate, housing, speculative land subdivision, streets and highways, age and income groupings, and zoning. Characteristic of Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.'s previous work and teaching at Harvard, the report presents a detailed survey of the existing conditions before proposing any changes. Among the recommended improvements that Olmsted and Bartholomew outline are nine elongated parkways: three oriented on an east-west axis and six oriented on a north-south axis (Fig. 6.8). Additionally, the authors recommended that Los Angeles take steps toward providing accessible parks for areas with large adolescent populations. According to the report, "people living within less than one-half mile of any park or recreation unit...tend to visit it frequently, use it extensively, take personal pride in it as a neighborhood possession, and get large values from it."[475] Although the authors note that this half-mile standard could be greater in Los Angeles (due to its low density), the correlation between park accessibility and social well-being reveals the important role of recreational space in the modern metropolis.

Those familiar with the present condition of Los Angeles will already know that the Olmsted/Bartholomew plan never became a reality. Since its publication coincided with the onset of the Great Depression, some readers might jump to the conclusion that the economic downturn was responsible for the plan's failure. However, historians Greg Hise and William Deverell argue that the plan was dead long before the stock market crash of 1929. Their collaborative publication, *Eden By Design*, details the historical events surrounding the Olmsted/Bartholomew plan and its public reception (or lack thereof). According to Hise and

[475] *Parks, Playgrounds and Beaches for the Los Angeles Region: A Report Submitted to the Citizens' Committee on Parks, Playgrounds and Beaches* (Los Angeles: Citizens' Committee on Parks, Playgrounds and Beaches, 1930), 144.

Deverell, official government bodies like the Los Angeles Parks Department and the Regional Planning Commission ignored the plan because its implementation would have eliminated, or least consolidated, their organizations in favor of a single, countywide commission.[476] In addition to this obstacle, many members of the Chamber of Commerce—the group that funded the project—worried that the plan was too comprehensive and would require a governmental agency that might ultimately become too powerful.[477]

Perhaps the most significant factor that doomed the Olmsted/Bartholomew plan was Los Angeles' unique embrace of *laissez-faire* capitalism, in which the private right to unregulated profit took priority over public welfare. Within most idealized conceptions of modern society, the continuous expansion of private markets is held in check by various entities that protect the public good. Since professions have a responsibly—both legal and moral—to deploy their expertise for betterment of wider society, they constitute one such check on profit-driven development.[478] However, Olmsted and Bartholomew's professional authority proved ineffectual in the context of Los Angeles. According to Hise and Deverell, the formal presentation of *Parks, Playgrounds and Beaches* was met with "a resounding silence."[479] For Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., the plan's failure was further evidence of landscape architecture's waning influence over the physical form of the urban environment.

[476] Hise and Deverell, *Eden by Design*, 4-5.
[477] Ibid., 37-42.
[478] See *Professionals and Urban Form*, 2.
[479] Hise and Deverell, *Eden by Design*, 4.

6.3 A New Deal for Engineers

6.3.1 Infrastructural Work

While landscape architects struggled to find their identity in the interwar years, engineers enjoyed a golden age of infrastructural production. Furthermore, the diverging trajectories of both professions often put them in direct conflict with one another. The example of Hetch Hetchy clearly illustrates this dynamic. For landscape architects, the proposed dam and reservoir represented an assault on the valley's unspoiled beauty. Engineers, on the other hand, viewed the project as a remarkable opportunity to prove their capabilities in the design of large-scale infrastructure. Interestingly, the availability of such infrastructural projects had a significant impact on the professional dynamics of engineering. Whereas many nineteenth-century engineers were employed by private railroad companies in the United States, the infrastructural projects of the twentieth century brought the profession into a much closer relationship with government agencies.[480]

Similar to Hetch Hetchy, the landscape architects' loss in the planning of Los Angeles would be the engineers' gain. As Olmsted and Bartholomew had already discovered, Los Angeles was a city that privileged the individual over the collective. Jan Rowan perfectly captured this ethos in a 1968 article for *Progressive Architecture*: "To be able to choose what you want to be and how you want to live, without worrying about social censure, is obviously

[480] The specific working dynamics between engineers and politicians varied according to project size, governmental agency, and other contextual factors. At Hetch Hetchy, the relationship was especially close. Upon hiring Michael M. O'Shaunessy as chief engineer over the project, San Francisco's mayor made it clear that the engineer would answer only to him. Under O'Shaunessy's leadership, a talented group of engineers strategized the best way of executing the massive project. The mountainous landscape made their task especially difficulty. Not only did the crew have to construct the dam and reservoir, they also had to build an infrastructure for construction. This included railroad lines to bring materials through the alpine topography, a powerhouse to generate reliable electricity, and a sawmill to produce lumber for various construction needs. In the end, the team proved up to the challenge. As chief engineer, O'Shaunessy even found a way to generate hydroelectricity with the water supply before it was diverted to the San Francisco area via an aqueduct. San Francisco Public Utilities Commission. *A History of the Municipal Water Supply and Hetch Hetchy System* (San Francisco: San Francisco Public Utilities Commission, 2005), 29-37.

more important to Angelenos than the fact that they do not have a Piazza San Marco."[481] Within this cultural context, Olmsted and Bartholomew's proposal for a system of interconnected public parks never stood a chance. Yet, there was one unavoidable problem in Los Angeles that demanded immediate attention: flooding.

Although Los Angeles receives very little rain throughout the year, its location at the base of an eroding mountain range produces "the worst flood and debris problems of any major city in the Northern Hemisphere."[482] The areas most vulnerable to severe flooding are those immediately adjacent to the Los Angeles River, which runs along a north-south axis on the eastern border of downtown (Fig. 6.9-6.10). In order to address this problem, Olmsted and Bartholomew argued that land on either side of the river should be declared "hazard zones," meaning they could not be developed for private industry. Instead, these areas would become lush greenways extending through the entire city. Simply by regulating land use, the planners argued, major flooding problems could be prevented. Yet, as Mike Davis has shown, their "greenbelt alternative, with its explicit assertion of communal sovereignty over private interest, was never seriously debated."[483] In his book, *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster*, Davis outlines the city's alternative approach:

> The opposing solution was to deepen and 'armor'—that is, pave—a narrow width of the river's channel in order to flush storm runoff out of the city as efficiently as possible, and thus allow extensive industrial development within the floodplain.[484]

After ignoring the recommendations of Olmsted and Bartholomew, Los Angeles turned to the Army Corp of Engineers. In 1938, the engineers began the arduous task of deepening the river's

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[481] Reyner Banham includes this quotation (along with others) in the opening pages of *Los Angeles: An Architecture of Four Ecologies* (London: Penguin Press, 1971), 16. Interestingly, Banham does not mention Olmsted, Bartholomew, or their unrealized vision of the city anywhere in his extensive analysis. Nonetheless, the collective disregard for Olmsted and Bartholomew's expert recommendations undoubtedly had a dramatic impact on Los Angeles. Still today, the city's inhabitants complain about the lack of open public spaces within the endless metropolis.
[482] Mike Davis, *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster* (New York: Random House, 1998), 69.
[483] Ibid., 70.
[484] Ibid., 69.

bed, widening its channel, and paving its banks (Fig. 6.11). Today, the paved riverbed stands as a monument to a shift in cultural values within the United States. Like the man-made reservoir at the base of the Hetch Hetchy Valley, the paved channel cutting through the heart of Los Angeles was the product of a new, modernized society, one that valued large-scale engineering projects over the preservation of America's natural landscapes.[485]

The Hetch Hetchy Reservoir and the Los Angeles River were by no means the most notable infrastructural projects executed by engineers during the interwar period. For that, one might look to the monumental Hoover Dam or the numerous structures built by the Tennessee Valley Authority. There were also thousands of smaller projects financed by the Division of Engineering and Construction within the newly established Works Progress Administration (WPA). The point here is not to dwell on any specific infrastructural project, but rather, to recognize the larger trend toward infrastructural investment that absorbed American engineers into the dynamics of government operations. Additionally, it is critical to also realize that this development came at the expense of landscape architects, as well as the natural landscape itself.

6.3.2 Collaborative Practice

While many engineers devoted themselves to infrastructural projects during the early decades of the twentieth century, others engaged in strategic collaborations with architects. Importantly, these collaborative practices were only possible because jurisdictional boundaries had become more rigid and defined. Whereas, the blurred professional identities of nineteenth-century architects and engineers fostered competition, the twentieth-century differentiation of the

[485] Hise and Deverell, *Eden by Design*, 47-48. "After 1930, the federal government, under the rubric of various New Deal programs, entered the landscape architecture field and increasingly orchestrated the kind of comprehensive planning contemplated by Olmsted and Bartholomew in this report. Thus a transition from social reform objectives to commercial/private partnerships to the arrival of federal money and federal engineering is evident on the regional landscape, particularly as regards such sites as the Los Angeles River."

two professions allowed modern practitioners to have a much clearer sense of their specific roles within the design and construction of buildings. In his book, *Architect and Engineer: A Study in Sibling Rivalry*, Andrew Saint examines several examples of collaborative practice in the United States and Europe, including Auguste (architect) and Gustave (engineer) Perret, Frank Lloyd Wright (architect) and Paul Mueller (engineer/contractor), and Albert (architect) and Julius (engineer) Kahn. As Saint points out, the architects tend to receive more recognition than the engineers within the annals of history.[486] But beyond this problematic attribution of authorship, Saint's case studies on collaborative practice also reveal a great deal about the ways in which architects and engineers deployed expert knowledge in the early twentieth century. To unpack this dynamic, a brief discussion of one collaborative practice—the brothers Kahn—will suffice.

Albert Kahn acquired his architectural skills and predilections through office training in Detroit, as well as a travelling scholarship to Europe.[487] Meanwhile, his younger brother, Julius, studied engineering at the University of Michigan. Upon graduating, Julius joined Albert in practice, where they began experimenting with methods of concrete construction. Their breakthrough came when the pair discovered a new configuration of steel reinforcement, which dramatically improved the structural performance of concrete beams (Fig. 6.12). With a keen business savvy, Julius patented the method—appropriately labeled as the "Kahn System"—and established the Trussed Concrete Steel Company (later shortened to Truscon). Julius Kahn's innovative approach to concrete construction proved to be a major influence on the firm's work, especially in the cases of the Packard Plant Number Ten and Ford's Highland Park Factory (Fig.

[486] Part of the reason for this lopsided appraisal of collaborative authorship stems from the long-standing association of architectural design with artistic genius. That is to say, historians often write about architecture as if it were an autographic art form (to use Nelson Goodman's terminology) like painting or sculpture in which the work emerges solely from the architect's imagination. Attributing the creative impulses for a building's design to a single author, rather than a collaborative team, fits this familiar narrative of artistic production.

[487] Coincidentally, his travel partner in Europe was Henry Bacon, a talented Beaux-Arts architect who would later design the Lincoln Memorial. Christy Borth, *Masters of Mass Production* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1945), 97-100.

6.13-6.14).[488] Using the Kahn System of construction, the brothers were able to produce industrial facilities with larger bays and more natural light than earlier factory typologies. So, while Albert Kahn's talent for design is undeniable, Andrew Saint argues that his career "would have taken a different turn, had he not possessed an engineer-brother."[489]

In the years following the design and construction of the Highland Park Factory, the Kahn brothers went their separate ways. Albert Kahn continued to acquire notable building commissions, while Julius Kahn focused much of his time and energy on running the Truscon company. Despite Julius' departure, Albert Kahn Associates remained professionally diverse. In addition to architectural design, the firm contained in-house departments specifically devoted to mechanical engineering, structural engineering, and construction coordination (Fig. 6.15).[490] In an article for *Architectural Forum,* Albert Kahn warns against the hubris of architects who believe that they alone possess the necessary expertise to design industrial buildings: "The average architect, without the assistance of men who can deal with the structural problem, the sanitary, power, sprinkler, heating and ventilating, and cooling problems, is apt to fail...Nor is it sufficient that the architect tell the owner that he expects to call in specialists to help at the proper time."[491] For Kahn, collaboration was absolutely essential to the architect's process from

[488] Andrew Saint, *Architect Engineer: A Study in Sibling Rivalry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007). According to Saint, the opportunity to design Henry Ford's new automobile plant in Highland Park represented "the commission of a lifetime." (245) Although Kahn had already designed three other factories, nothing compared to the size and scope of the building that Ford needed to house his Model T production. At the time, the predominant method of automobile production involved lowering parts from the upper floors to the lower ones as they were assembled. Ultimately, this method proved inefficient when scaled. Ford soon realized that automobile production worked best in the horizontal (rather than vertical) direction. This shift in automobile production is manifest in Kahn's design of the Rouge River factory, a sprawling structure in Dearborn, Michigan. The horizontal configuration of the building also prompted a shift in construction, from concrete to steel. According to Saint, this material shift was likely a factor in the dissolution of the partnership between Albert Kahn and his engineer-brother, Julius. As Albert continued to design factory buildings in the 1920s, Julius focused much of his time and energy on the Truscon company.
[489] Saint, *Architect Engineer*, 243.
[490] This model of architectural production has been adopted by numerous firms in the contemporary era, from architectural powerhouses like Skidmore, Owings, & Merrill to mid-sized offices like SHoP.
[491] As quoted in Grant Hildebrand, *Designing for Industry: The Architecture of Albert Kahn* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1974), 156.

start to finish. From his standpoint, it would be foolish and counterintuitive for the architect to attempt the work of an engineer, or vice versa.

Albert Kahn's plea for collaboration between architects and engineers stands in remarkable contrast to earlier conceptions of the architect/engineer dynamic. A comparison of the brothers Kahn with Frank Kidder, whose life and career is detailed in Chapter One, illustrates this point. Kidder began his professional studies in civil engineering, where he developed an expertise in the science and performance of building materials. Whereas Julius Kahn specialized in reinforced concrete, Kidder focused much of his attention on the architectural applications of wood. After graduating with a degree in civil engineering, Kidder trained in notable architectural firms and even enrolled in a graduate architecture program at MIT. Throughout his career, Kidder moved freely between the spheres of architecture and engineering (as evidenced by his ever-changing professional title on census reports). Furthermore, Kidder's *Architects and Builders' Handbook,* the publication for which he is most known, suggests a hybridization of architectural and engineering knowledge. Although he ran his own firm and designed several buildings, Kidder never abandoned his interest in material properties and building construction. In making the comparison to the brothers Kahn, one might suggest that Kidder's dual-identities were split into two professionals: Albert, the architect-designer, and Julius, the engineer.[492] While this comparative leap undoubtedly oversimplifies the complex characters involved, it nonetheless illustrates the ways in which expert knowledge was compartmentalized within separate professions during the early twentieth century. The permeability that characterized architectural and engineering practice during the late nineteenth century had been replaced by a more rigid boundary between these two allied disciplines.

[492] To be clear, the individuation of architects and engineers came as the result of increased complexity in building construction. Frank Kidder never received a building commission half as large or technologically complicated as the factories designed by Albert and Julius Kahn.

6.4 Architectural Modernisms

6.4.1 A License to Practice

As discussed above, jurisdictional boundaries became increasingly fixed in the years leading up to and following World War I. Within architecture, this phenomenon was catalyzed by the establishment of licensure requirements, which restricted who could and could not practice under the title of "architect." As Mary Woods has noted, the first calls for licensure began in the late nineteenth century, led by Dankmar Adler and the Western Association of Architects.[493] In 1897, Illinois became the first state to pass such a law with the aim of raising the standard of practice and increasing public safety (The law was, in fact, a response to a specific incident in which an error made by an incompetent architect led to a building's collapse.)[494] However, the majority of American architects held an unfavorable view of licensure throughout the first decade of the twentieth century. For instance, one contributor to the April 1907 issue of *Brickbuilder* notes, "we find a fairly even consensus of opinion that no real good has come by licensing the profession, and we have yet to find a cogent reason why the system should be extended to other states."[495] By 1912, however, the tides of opinion had turned, with a different commenter stating that licensure laws have "helped the profession by removing the 'architect and contractor,' the 'architect builder' and the 'architect and engineer.'"[496] Another asked, "Why has the profession been left unguarded to unqualified invaders?"[497] From these statements, it is clear that licensure was not only used to elevate standards of practice, but also as a mechanism for excluding competitors. Over the next two decades, professional licensure gradually became

[493] See, Mary Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 44-45.
[494] Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 44.
[495] "Licensing Architects," *Brickbuilder* 16, no. 4 (April 1907): 69.
[496] "Licensing Architects," *Brickbuilder* 21, no. 6 (June 1912): 169.
[497] "The Licensing of Architects," *Brickbuilder* 24, no. 5 (May 1915): 130.

the norm as more states passed legislation to establish specific educational requirements and formal examinations for aspiring architects.

Generally speaking, architectural licensure requirements were established at the level of state government and regulated by appointed review boards (Fig. 6.16)[498]. Of course, the primary criterion under consideration was education. Beginning in the early twentieth century, aspiring architects were required to complete a university degree program in order to practice architecture in the United States.[499] This development inflected back on the schools, many of which "revised their courses to meet the demands."[500] In 1912, the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture (ACSA) was formed in an effort to set standards across the American universities. As Wilbert Ellis Moore has noted, one corollary of licensure is that "the professional schools act as the first formal gatekeepers: in setting admission standards, standards for performance in the course of training, and requirements for the appropriate degree."[501] In this way, the movement toward university education and licensure took a heavy burden off of individual professionals, who otherwise would have been required to train aspiring architects and weed out the inept.

Within the context of professional individuation, the licensure movement can be read as a desire to bolster the perimeter walls of architectural practice. One might even suggest that this fortification of professional boundaries prompted an internal reflection on the nature of architecture and its fundamental principles. Whereas the previous generation of architects had spread themselves thin competing with landscape architects and civil engineers, this new

[498] The movement reached a moment of zealous fervor in 1916, when a competition was announced for the design of the architectural licensure certificate for the state of New York. In many ways, this design competition exemplifies an obtuseness that continuously hinders the progress of the profession. By fetishizing the licensure object, many architects lost sight of the jurisdictional problem it was intended to solve. "Competition for Design of New York State Architects' Certificates," *Brickbuilder* 25, no. 5 (May 1916): 131.

[499] In almost every case, however, some provision was made for established practitioners, who could be "grandfathered" into licensure without earning a degree.

[500] Licensing Architects," *Brickbuilder* (1912), 169.

[501] Wilbert Ellis Moore, *The Professions: Roles and Rules* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970), 122.

generation of architects could sharpen their focus on the jurisdictional territories that properly fell under the architect's purview.

Unfortunately, the push for licensure overshadowed sincere and earnest arguments for collaborative partnerships between architects, engineers, and city officials. An 1899 article in *Brickbuilder*, for instance, describes a proposal for reimagining the New York City Building Commission as an interdisciplinary team comprised of architects, civil engineers, and builders among others.[502] However, this form of direct involvement in the state apparatus was largely rejected by architects in favor of professional independence. During an address to the Philadelphia chapter of the AIA in 1915, John C. Trautwine Jr. commented on the different trajectories of architectural and engineering practice in the twentieth century.

> The engineer designs relatively large works, under the direction of large clients—governments and great industrial corporations, such as railroads, mining, and manufacturing companies—whereas, in general, the architect serves rather the private individual or a relatively small group—the builder of his own mansion, or a church, or bank corporation.[503]

Such a distinction still holds true today. And, if contemporary architects find themselves dissatisfied by their lack of influence within city planning and public policy decisions, they should keep in mind that their isolation from such conversations was, in large part, self-inflicted. While engineers and city planners of the early twentieth century aligned themselves with various governmental agencies and departments, architects rallied around the cause of professional independence. In many ways, this internalization of the profession set the stage for the emergence of architectural modernism in the United States.

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[502] "Personal, Club, and Sundry News Items," *Brickbuilder* 8, no. 2 (February 1899), 22: "A bill to abolish the New York City Building Commission, recently appointed by the Municipal Assembly, and to repeal the Building Code adopted by it, was introduced in the New York Legislature on February 6. A second bill was also introduced, which provides that a new commission consisting of eleven members shall be appointed by the governor as follows: a member of the Board of Buildings; chief of the fire department; one representative of the health department; one member of the Tenement House Commission, who shall be an architect; one representative of the Board of Fire Underwriters; one civil engineer, to be chosen from a list of three names to be submitted to the governor by the American Society of Civil Engineers; three architects, to be chosen from a list of nine names to be submitted to the governor by the New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects; one practical builder of at least five years' experience in the construction of modern fire-proof buildings; and one attorney and counselor at law who has been admitted to practice in the State of New York for at least five years."

[503] "The Architect and the Engineer in the Future," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 3, no. 7 (July 1915): 320.

6.4.2 What it means to be Modern

Architects, more so than other design professionals, sought to construct their identities through various conceptions of *modernism* during the early twentieth century. Of course, the connotations associated with labels like *modern* and *modernist* differ depending on the context, be it world history, philosophy, art, or some other field. Within architecture, modernism typically means something quite specific: that rich period of stylistic transformation that was both a *product of* and a *response to* the conditions of modernity. In addition to technological innovations like mass production and standardization, as well as new materials like steel and reinforced concrete, most historians also associate modern architecture with the parallel exploration of abstraction in modern art.[504] Yet, despite the layered structure of this standard definition, the dominant narratives of modern architecture have remained frustratingly monolithic and unchanged throughout the years. These tales often revolve around a limited cast of European characters, who "invented" modernism in continental Europe and then exported their ideas to other parts of the world.[505] Furthermore, historians of modern architecture rarely consider the transforming professional dynamics that accompanied this period of formal exploration.

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[504] To lesser extent, historians and theorists associate architectural modernism with some attitude towards socio-political reform. However, the political tendencies of individual modernists varied widely. As Magali Sarfatti Larson has pointed, one social consequence of architectural modernism was the de-skilling of the construction workforce: "The practice, the ideology, and the aesthetics of architectural modernism were resolutely based on machine production and industrial design. Thus, in a very real way, the modern movement was based—unavoidable and often unwillingly—on the ancient architectural denial of the executants' competence. Most notably in American, the vigorous struggle of the skilled building workers against the destruction of their skills had been defeated by industrial conception and social repression before the turn of the century. In the new capitalist class structure, both in Europe and the United States, the professionalization movement had assured architects of positions that were always securely located in the middle class. Cutting across the internal stratification of the profession was the major difference among architectural commissions: domestic and monumental or, in empirical terms, housing and public buildings." Larson, "Emblem and Exception," 70.

[505] Were the variants of American modern architecture really just imported versions of European Modernism? There is a case to be made that the unique conditions of industrial production, progressive politics, and professional jurisdiction in the United States produced a completely different strain of architectural exploration.

In charting the major developments in modern architecture, many point to the 1932 "International Style" exhibition curated by Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson at the Museum of Modern Art in New York (Fig. 6.17).[506] Thoroughly researched and well attended, this show introduced thousands of Americans to an architecture of lightness, abstraction, and asymmetry. Yet, the show's European bias was unmistakable. For instance, all four "founders" of the International Style, as identified in a press release for the exhibition, were products of continental Europe: Le Corbusier (Swiss/French), Walter Gropius (German), Mies van der Rohe (German), and J.J. Pieter Oud (Dutch). Meanwhile, the American architects included in the show—Frederick John Kiesler, Raymond Hood, Richard Neutra, among others—received less

[506] While professional individuation coincided with a wide range of formal explorations intended for a newly created disciplinary audience, it also prompted a critical revaluation of architectural practice. Unfortunately, these efforts to improve professional standards and ethics have been overshadowed within the discourse on modern architecture. An alternative history of architectural modernism in the United States would set aside its formal languages (radical as they were) in order to examine the ways in which architects responded to transformations within American society. Among the notable figures that would be included in this history is Frederick Ackerman, a New York architect whose practice centered a synthetic approach to technology and society. Alongside the larger-than-life personalities of leading modernists like Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright, Frederick Ackerman is easily overshadowed. With more concern for rational problem-solving than bombastic outbursts, Ackerman never rose to the celebrity status that these other figures enjoyed. Yet, his life and career represents a compelling alternative to traditional conceptions of the modern architect.

Dissenting from Le Corbusier's famous embrace of Taylorist efficiency, Ackerman challenged his peers to reflect upon the nature of *work* in modern society. According to Ackerman, the prevailing trends within American production, especially those stemming from Frederick Winslow Taylor's call for scientific management, transformed "men into mere tools, into automatons." (Ackerman, "The Real Meaning of the Housing Problem," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects 6,* no. 5 (May 1918): 230.) By contrast, Ackerman proposed a different conception of work: "Not labor, toil, mechanical production—soulless labor, unimaginative, spiritless toil—but the significance of [work] in the days of the Gothic builders, or those of the Early Renaissance." (Ackerman, "The Relation of Art to Education," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects 4*, no. 5 (May 1916): 192.) While this statement might initially come off as somewhat nostalgic, Ackerman was no luddite. In fact, his office was the incubator for one of the most advanced architectural research projects of the early twentieth century: *Architectural Graphic Standards*. Produced by two of Ackerman's employees—Charles Ramsey and Harold Sleeper—*Graphic Standards* brought together a wide array of existing data and best practices, which had previously resided solely within the minds of individual architects and draftsmen. Transforming this body of tacit knowledge into a codified set of standards and conventions, Ramsey and Sleeper helped redefine the parameters of modern architectural practice. In his book, *Drafting Culture: A Social History of Architectural Graphic Standards*, George B. Johnston uses Ramsey and Sleeper's *Graphic Standards* as a framework for analyzing the sociological dynamics of architectural *work* during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Key to Johnston's narrative is the transition from apprenticeship to university education and the subsequent fate of the vocationally-trained draftsman. Like Ackerman, Johnston is acutely tuned to the broader significance of *work*, especially from the subordinated draftsman's perspective: "The labor of bodies and the work of hands endures in both the moving of heavy loads and the manipulation of precise instruments, in the building of walls and the projection of lines." (Johnston, *Drafting Culture*, 2.)

In place of idiosyncratic formalisms and exaggerated rhetoric, Frederick Ackerman provided a model of socially-situated practice, one that looked outward to the conditions of the present, rather than inward to the whims of artistic expression. These qualities of Ackerman's practice could have become the hallmarks of architectural modernism. Unfortunately, most histories of architecture are not written this way. Instead, architects and historians alike continue to emphasize individual expression and formal invention as the most significant outcomes of the modern movement. If nothing else, the example of Frederick Ackerman demonstrates a radical alternative to this dominant history.

critical attention from the curators.[507] Still, the focus of the show and its disciplinary audience reveals a great deal about the impact of professional individuation in the United States. The idea of organizing an exhibition around an architectural style (as opposed to a social issue or typological problem) would probably not have occurred to nineteenth-century figures like Daniel Burnham and Charles McKim. Emphasizing the inter-connections between architecture, urban development, and national politics, Burnham and McKim engaged a wide audience that included politicians and business leaders, as well as architects. Yet, as architecture's jurisdictional territory narrowed during the interwar period, so too did its presumed audience. By constraining the focus of the 1932 MoMA exhibition to issues of formal stylistics, the curators addressed an architectural audience directly, sparking an internal, disciplinary dialogue. Underlying this curatorial framing were several inter-related mechanisms of cultural production, largely unacknowledged within the discourse, which provide a compelling context to consider the postwar split between disciplinary and professional concerns.

6.4.3 Disciplinary Autonomy

To understand the emergence of a disciplinary audience within the field of architecture, one must consider the concept of autonomy. As Hélène Lipstadt has pointed out, architects have historically retained less autonomy than artists who work within "pure" fields of cultural production, such as literature and painting. Beholden to client demands and professional responsibilities, architects are accustomed to tempering the more radical elements of their creative impulses for the sake of budgetary limitations and public safety. The trade-off that comes with this compromised autonomy is the opportunity—through large-scale architectural

[507] Such a dynamic was, at least partially, self-inflicted. Frank Lloyd Wright, America's leading architect, telegraphed Philip Johnson shortly before the exhibition opened to request that his work not be included.

projects—to shape the built environment and, by extension, the cultures it reflects, fosters, and serves. In this sense, there is an inverse relationship between professional autonomy and legitimate power. The more freedom a profession has to define its own work, the less essential it can be to the basic function of a society. Only in exceptional circumstances—Lipstadt points to architectural competitions, for instance—do architects disregard practical concerns and professional responsibilities to enter a universe of full autonomy. Yet, this established dynamic was called into question when the architect's jurisdiction narrowed in the twentieth century.[508]

As the 1932 MoMA exhibition illustrates, modern architects made a concerted effort to frame building design as an artistic pursuit, comparable to modern painting or sculpture. The decision to exhibit architectural models and drawings within the sacred environment of a museum underlines this point. Importantly, this positioning was possible, in part, because civil engineers and city planners had overtaken the architects' jurisdiction in the area of city planning. By relinquishing their legitimate power to shape the urban environment, architects could enjoy a relatively high degree of autonomy, albeit on a smaller scale. Working primarily on single-family houses for wealthy patrons, they were granted the freedom to test out new spatial ideas and radical formal arrangements with relatively little concern for material cost or social responsibility. Additionally, with this newfound autonomy came the potential to accrue prestige and fame. Since modern architecture was framed as an artistic pursuit, architects often rose to celebrity status within modern society. Such was not the case for civil engineers or government-employed planners, who held a great deal of legitimate power, but remained almost entirely anonymous.[509] Of course, the fact that modern architects leveraged disciplinary autonomy as a

[508] Lipstadt, "Can 'art Professions' Be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production? The Case of the Architecture Competition," 393.

[509] The modern trajectory of city planning also supports the thesis that professional autonomy and legitimate power are inversely related. In *Professionals and Urban Form*, Judith Blau, Mark La Gory, and John Pipkin argue that planning's conservative cast is a direct result of the profession's established legitimacy: "[P]rofessionals in the political area, making decisions about public

means for asserting their own creative genius is well established within the historiography.[510] What is not recognized, however, is the idea that this internalization of architectural design—its developing insularity—was a direct response to a series of bitter jurisdictional concessions.

6.5 Jurisdictional Vestiges

Even after city planning was incorporated within governmental affairs, many architects and landscape architects continued to speculate upon possibilities surrounding this former jurisdictional territory. In some ways, the fact that architects and landscape architects had no legitimate authority over city planning was an advantage, because it freed them from the practical and economic burdens that government-employed planners faced. As a result, they were able to envision radical alternatives to the modern city. A brief examination of a few of these proposals suggests that legitimate power is not a prerequisite for producing design work that has lasting cultural value.

6.5.1 Model Communities: Sunnyside and Radburn

Among the most notable planning projects of the early twentieth century are the communities designed by the landscape architect, Henry Wright, and the architect, Clarence Stein. Their collaborations on Sunnyside Gardens in Queens, New York and Radburn in Fair Lawn, New Jersey are prime examples of the alternative conceptions of planning that existed in

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welfare, are more likely to encounter opposition than those in the private sector. The role of the planner is to oversee the rational use of public goods by reducing the costs and the benefits accruing to individuals from the externalities of various publicly produced structures. Such actions necessarily pit the planner against certain factions of the community who will quite naturally challenge the legitimacy of their actions…It worth remarking that a price paid for legitimacy is a further compromise in aspiration for radical change. This is evidenced in the frankly conservative role cast for the local planner in the United States, where a substantial part of daily effort involves zoning or use-permit decisions that are unambiguously used to support existing values and interests." Blau, La Gory, and Pipkin, *Professionals and Urban Form*, 2.

[510] For instance, see John Silber, *Architecture of the Absurd: How Genius Disfigured a Practical Art* (New York: Quantuck Lane Press, 2007).

parallel with mainstream development.[511] According to historian Edward Spann, both Wright and Stein felt that planning regulations were an insufficient solution to the problems created by America's rapid urbanization.[512] So, instead of pushing specific legislative restrictions on development, Wright and Stein sought to produce "model communities" that could be replicated across the country. Their first major project, Sunnyside Gardens, was a comprehensive plan for a pedestrian-friendly neighborhood in Queens, New York. The design, which was constructed in stages between 1924 and 1928, featured a generous allotment of open spaces and garden courtyards (Fig. 6.18). By 1930, every unit in the model community was occupied by tenants—a rare achievement for apartment buildings in the city at that time. Sunnyside Gardens' sales manager attributed this stellar rental record "to provisions for sunlight and air through parks and gardens adjacent to apartments and homes."[513] By only building upon one-third of the total land area, he explained, the community's architects and financial backers were able to create generous setbacks from the street, while replacing "unsightly" backyards with landscaped courtyards.[514] Importantly, the primary funding for the project came from private investors, most notably Alexander Bing, rather than a government agency. In this respect, Wright and Stein hoped to prove that planning could be beautiful, efficient, and financially viable.

Building on the success of Sunnyside Gardens, Wright and Stein collaborated once again on the design of Radburn, a New Jersey suburban community comprised of single-family houses, townhouses, and a large apartment complex (Fig. 6.19-6.20). Founded in 1929, Radburn occupied a much larger and less developed area than Sunnyside Gardens. Lewis Mumford, a

[511] For a more detailed account of Wright's career, see Edward K. Spann, *Designing Modern America: The Regional Planning Association of America and its Members* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1996), 62-65.
[512] Spann, *Designing Modern America*, 62-63.
[513] "Sunnyside Gardens Showing Activity: Apartment Buildings in Model Community Reported as Fully Occupied," *New York Times*, September 28, 1930. RE2
[514] The design of individual buildings was led by Stein and Frederick L. Ackerman, while Wright oversaw the general arrangement of buildings, courtyards and streets. Marjorie Sewell Cautley, a landscape architect educated at Cornell University, was brought in to design specific landscape features.

close associate of Wright and Stein, criticized the project for what he saw as a wasteful use of land. In particular, Mumford was displeased with the large number of single-family houses, which were arranged into "super-blocks" with cul-de-sacs.[515] Yet, others viewed Radburn's spacious landscapes and pedestrian pathways much more positively:

> On a big expanse of level ground near Paterson, New Jersey, there has arisen during the past year an amazing community which now welcomes the visitor into long, smooth streets of concrete, lined by gardens and parkways on which well designed homes have been scientifically places to provide sunlight, view, and remoteness from motor traffic.[516]

Despite these different opinions, all could agree that Radburn represented an entirely new model for American planning. While Wright and Stein were obviously influenced by English Garden Suburbs, their embrace of the automobile produced a design that was fundamentally distinct from these earlier precedents. By separating pedestrians from vehicular roadways and eliminating through-traffic with cul-de-sacs, Radburn posed a challenge to the very structure of urban space.

6.5.2 The Broadacre City

Stein and Wright were not alone in proposing radical alternatives to government-sponsored planning. The nation's preeminent architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, also contributed to the evolving conversation on city planning with his proposal for the Broadacre City.[517] At its core, the proposal is a critique of industrialized urbanization. In his 1932 publication, *The Disappearing City*, Wright laid bare his distaste for the current state of urban life, especially the rental system on which all else depends:

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[515] Spann, *Designing Modern America*, 114.
[516] "The Town for the Motor Age Boasts Exceptional Features," *American Builder* (January 1, 1930), 71.
[517] As Jerome Klinkowitz notes in his book, *Frank Lloyd Wright and His Manner of Thought*, the Broadacre City came at the same time that Wright was establishing the Taliesin Fellowship. Furthermore, Klinkowitz argues that the two undertakings were entirely interdependent. As a design problem, the Broadacre City was so large and comprehensive that it required a pool of free labor, which only the Taliesin Fellowship could provide. Over the course of several years, student apprentices at the Taliesin worked tirelessly to produce a suite of drawings, as well as a monumental twelve foot by twelve foot model, illustrating the organization of Wright's American utopia. Jerome Klinkowitz, *Frank Lloyd Wright and His Manner of Thought* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014).

> The city itself is become a form of anxious rent, the citizen's own life rented, he and his family evicted if he is in "arrears" or "the system" goes to smash...Should this anxious lock-step of his fall out with the landlord, the moneylord, the machinelord, he is a total loss.[518]

Later in this same essay, Wright boldly claims that "the big city is no longer modern."[519] In its place, he envisions a dispersed utopia in which each household receives an acre of land within a gridded field (Fig. 6.21). Such a proposition is, of course, informed by the long-established connection between land ownership and individual freedom within the American cultural imaginary. In this way, the Broadacre City closely aligns with the guiding principles of the yeoman farmer, as described by Thomas Jefferson. But any tendency to read the project as a nostalgic appeal for an agrarian past is counteracted by several futuristic elements, including flying cars that occupy the upper corners of several drawings (Fig. 6.22). In fact, Wright insists that the Broadacre City is only conceivable because of modern technologies. For instance, his rejection of traditional urban principles, such as density and verticality, is prompted by innovations in automobile transportation, communication, and electricity. On the whole, Wright argues, technology has made the modern American more self-sufficient. Thus, the Broadacre City is the physical manifestation of this new individualism at the scale of the urban field.

The radical nature of Wright's Broadacre City is best illustrated through comparison with its European competitors. From Ebenezer Howard's Garden City to Le Corbusier's Ville Contemporaine and Ville Radieuse, European imaginations of the modern metropolis prioritized the collective over the individual. Yet, Wright's proposal includes neither multi-family housing nor public transportation. Rejecting the idea of a central node or a collection of nodes (in the case of Howard's Garden City), the Broadacre City presents an undifferentiated field of privately owned lots that reinforce the horizontality and expansiveness of the American landscape.

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[518] Frank Lloyd Wright, *The Disappearing City* (New York: William Farquhar Payson, 1932), 4.
[519] Ibid., 20.

However, in contrast to the garden-inspired communities designed by Henry Wright and Clarence Stein, the Broadacre City makes no attempt to mimic nature. There are no winding roadways or picturesque vistas. Instead, Wright and his Taliesin apprentices aimed to juxtapose the natural and the artificial, letting modern technologies rub up against the agrarian landscape.[520]

6.5.3 Residual Overlaps

The model communities of Sunnyside Gardens and Radburn, as well as Frank Lloyd Wright's proposal for the Broadacre City, illustrate vestiges of prior jurisdictional configurations. Such residual traces can also be found in organizational contexts.[521] In July of 1923, for instance, the American Society of Civil Engineers voted to establish a City Planning Division within their organization. The fact that this was the first technical division to ever be authorized by the ASCE demonstrates the importance of planning within the profession's larger agenda.[522] Similarly, the AIA supported a Committee on Community Planning during the

[520] Whereas Wright's vision of a technologically-integrated society may have been novel, his own mode of architectural authorship harked back to an earlier model of architectural production, one organized around the master/apprentice relationship and executed through a pool of free labor that only his Taliesin Fellowship could provide.

[521] I borrow this concept from Raymond Williams' discussion of the dominant, the emergent, and the residual in *Marxism and Literature*. According to Williams, every cultures includes some carry-over from its past, which he refers to as the residual. Furthermore, this residual element "is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present." Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 122. Whereas planning emerged as an independent profession during the interwar years, the ensuing jurisdictional transformation was not instantaneous. Instead, many architects and landscape architects, especially those who began their professional careers in the late nineteenth century, continued to develop large-scale design proposals for cities and suburban developments.

[522] For the most part, the focus of the ASCE City Planning Division followed along the same lines as earlier planning groups. The problem of street traffic was a recurrent theme, for example, with papers presented on "Increasing the Capacity of Existing Streets" and "The Influence of the Automobile on Regional Transportation." (Harry W. Alexander, "History of the City Planning Division of the ASCE," Proceedings of the American Society of Civil Engineers, September 1954, Volume 80, Separate No. 509, 509-2.) Another area of significant interest for the division was zoning. Within their first year of existence, the division hosted two symposiums on the subject—the first being a general discussion on "Factors in the Zoning of Cities" and the second a more focused examination of "The Influence of Zoning on the Design Public Utilities." (Harry W. Alexander, "History of the City Planning Division of the ASCE," Proceedings of the American Society of Civil Engineers, September 1954, Volume 80, Separate No. 509, 509-2.) As one might expect, the engineers were not idealists in their approach to city planning. The grandiose schemes of the City Beautiful were a world apart from the initiatives sponsored by the ASCE City Planning Division. Instead, their approach was calculated, thorough, *engineered.*

Defining their specific role within the ASCE, the City Planning Division identified three primary responsibilities: "to promote a wider understanding of the science and art of planning towns, cities and communities through (a) preparation of papers

interwar years, which featured such familiar names as Clarence Stein, Henry Wright, and Frederick Ackerman. So, while the larger narrative of professional differentiation holds true, the process by which jurisdictional boundaries were fixed was complex and nuanced. This point is illustrated by fact that Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., a landscape architect, was chosen as the first president of the American City Planning Institute. Meanwhile, his half-brother, John Charles Olmsted, who served as the first president of the American Society of Landscape Architects, remained a member of the ASCE until his death in 1920. Harland Bartholomew, the Olmsteds' collaborator on their 1930 comprehensive plan for Los Angeles, is most often characterized as a professional planner. However, Bartholomew was extremely involved in the ASCE's City Planning Division, even serving a term as a chairman in the 1930s. These residual overlaps between the four design professions complicate the larger narrative of professional individuation. Additionally, they serve as a reminder that historical change is uneven and incremental, rather than linear and immediate.

The United States' entry into World War I adds an additional wrinkle to the story of professional jurisdiction. Of course, a full account of the war effort and its impact of the American design professions is beyond the scope of this study. Nonetheless, a brief discussion of the various responses provides a general outline of the situation. Beginning in 1917, the war necessitated an all-hands-on-deck approach, with prominent figures from each of the four design professions playing crucial roles. As the Chairman of the National Conference on City Planning,

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dealing with numerous phases of planning (b) discussion of planning principles and activities at society meetings and (c) publication of manuals on planning subjects and techniques of special significance to engineers." (Harry W. Alexander, "History of the City Planning Division of the ASCE," Proceedings of the American Society of Civil Engineers, September 1954, Volume 80, Separate No. 509, 509-1) Of these three, self-identified responsibilities, the last is the most intriguing. As discussed in Chapter One, the codification of technical knowledge is a means for claiming jurisdictional territory. Therefore, the City Planning Division's endeavor to publish manuals of practice can be interpreted as direct challenge to the newly formed ACPI and the professional planners it represented. Among the topics addressed in the City Planning Division manuals were Land Subdivision, Location of Underground Utilities, Street Names and Numbers, and Urban Land Policies. The Division even published a manual on the "National Capital," perhaps seeking jurisdictional retribution on behalf of Colonel Bingham and the Army Corp of Engineers, who were pushed out of the planning process by the Senate Park Commission at the turn of the twentieth century.

Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. was asked by the National Council of Defense to offer his assistance in the planning of cantonments. In characteristic fashion, Olmsted recommended that the "expert services of city planners be employed, first, in the selection of sites suitable for the cantonments, and, second, in determining the plans for the individual sites so selected."[523] Architects, too, offered their expertise during the war effort. Frederick Ackerman, for instance, served as chief designer for the Housing Division of the U.S. Shipping Board's Emergency Fleet Corporation, even employing Clarence Stein and Henry Wright as part of his team.[524] Naturally, the extenuating circumstances of war produced numerous jurisdictional intersections and overlaps. However, this re-blurring of professional boundaries ended with the war in 1919. Ultimately, the momentum behind the specialization of design had grown too large to overcome. For better or worse, the next generation of design professionals would be much more differentiated than their predecessors.

At the turn of the twentieth century, professional boundaries were relatively loose and jurisdictional dynamics were fluid. In the short span of two decades, however, the entire situation underwent a remarkable transformation that resulted in much clearer divisions between individual design professionals. City planning, which had once been an area of contested jurisdiction for architects, landscape architects, and civil engineers, emerged as an independent profession in its own right. This transition had a significant impact on the nature of planning, reconfiguring its operations around legislative tools, most notably zoning restrictions, rather than creative impulses. At the same time, a confluence of social and technological factors produced numerous infrastructural commissions—both large and small—for civil engineers. As a result of

[523] James Sturgis Pray, "Planning the Cantonments," *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 8, no. 1 (October 1917): 1.
[524] Johnston, *Drafting Culture*, 104.

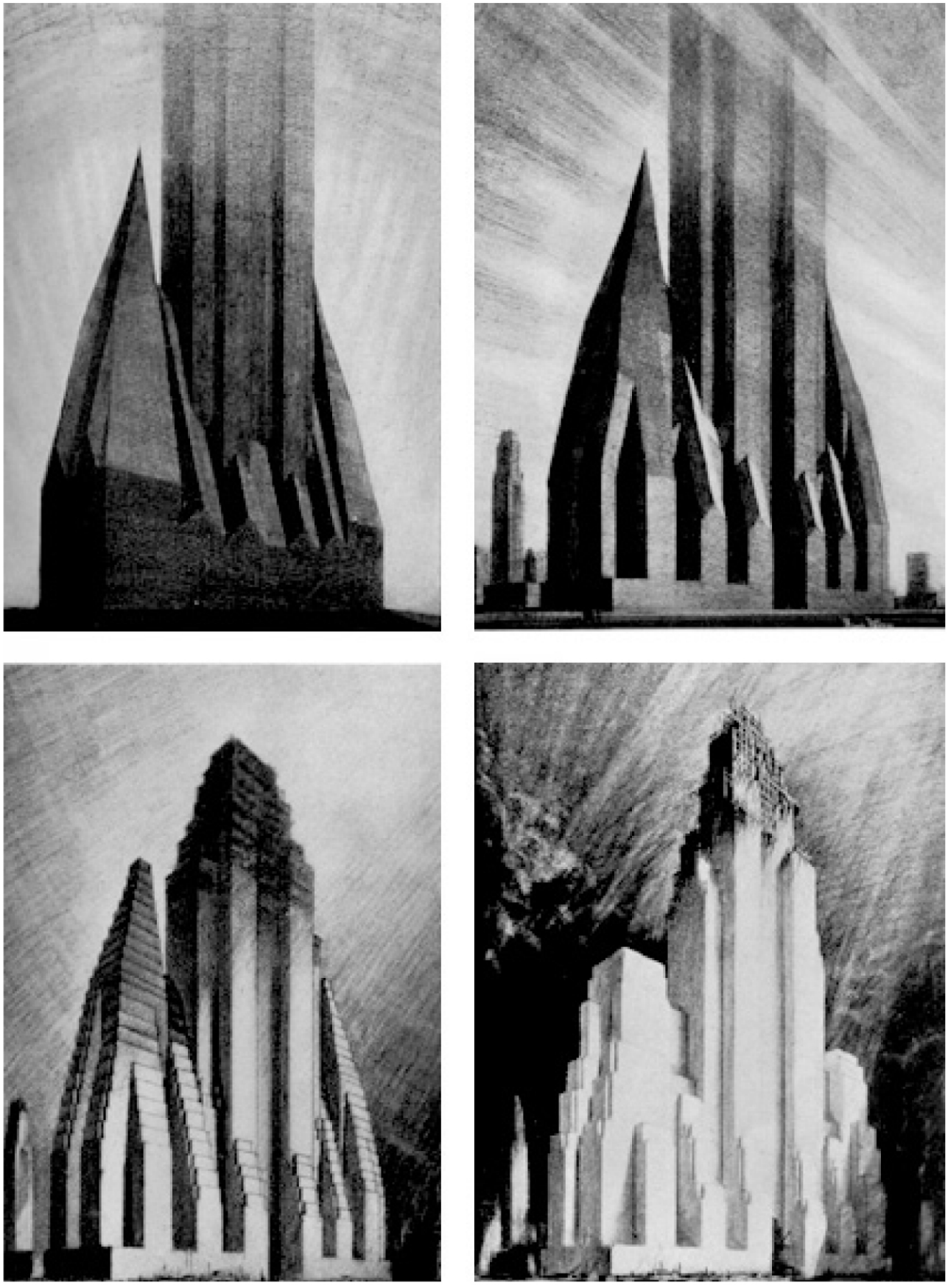
these developments, professional planners and civil engineers found themselves closely aligned with (and in some case, absorbed within) government agencies. Meanwhile, architects and landscape architects were gradually excluded from serious discussions of large-scale planning. In response, they turned inward, redefining themselves through various conceptions of modernism. Over the next several decades modern architects and landscape architects developed their own disciplinary projects through individual commissions under the employ of private clients. This jurisdictional split between the private and public spheres, more than any other phenomenon, reflects the meaningful outcomes of professionalization in the American design fields.

The question of whether the compartmentalization of design expertise has had a positive or negative impact on American society remains largely unanswered even today. Certainly the shape and performance of the developed landscape is a manifestation of these divisions and jurisdictional competitions. Within the context of this study, the most important point is that the sub-division and distribution of expert knowledge and authority significantly influenced the trajectory of each individual design profession. This impact of jurisdictional boundaries, however, is rarely acknowledged within historiographical discourse. Instead, these inter-professional dynamics lie quietly beneath the surface as the unacknowledged context of design and engineering in the United States.

Zoning Will Prevent This

[**Fig. 6.1**] Cartoon illustrating the chaotic effects of unregulated urban development. This particular illustration was used in a zoning publicity campaign for Evansville, Indiana.

[Fig. 6.2] The 40-story Equitable Building in New York City, completed in 1915.



[Fig. 6.3] Drawings by Hugh Ferriss show the formal implications of the 1916 New York City Zoning Ordiance.

[Fig. 6.4] The aftermath of the 1906 earthquake and fire in San Francisco.

[Fig. 6.5] Alfred Bierstadt, *The Hetch Hetchy Valley*, c. 1890.

[**Fig. 6**] The Hetch Hetchy Valley as it appeared prior to 1914.

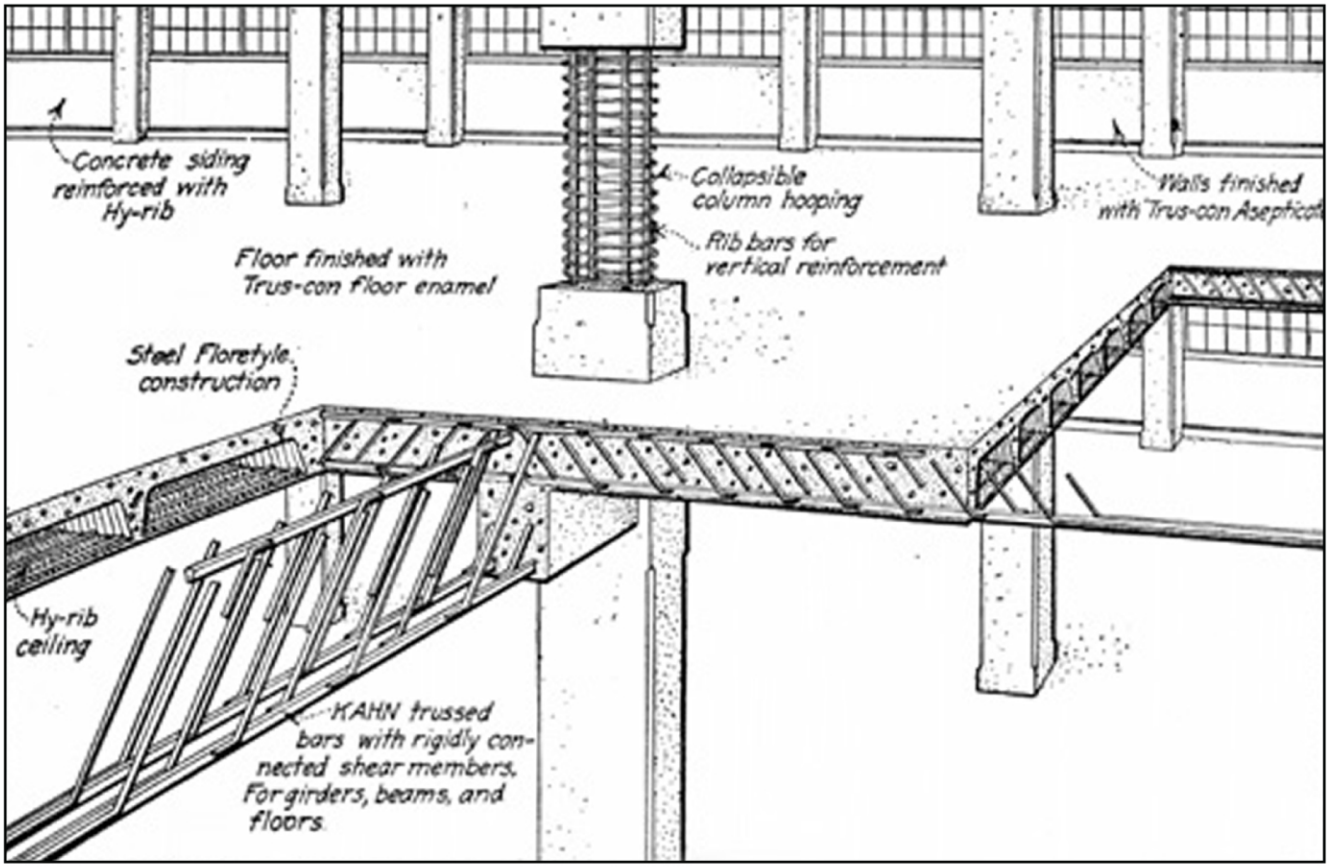
[**Fig. 7**] The O'Shaughnessy Dam and Reservoir constructed in the Hetch Hetchy Valley.

[Fig. 6.8] The Olmsted/Bartholomew Plan for Los Angeles, where the green areas represent existing parks and the red areas represent new park proposals.

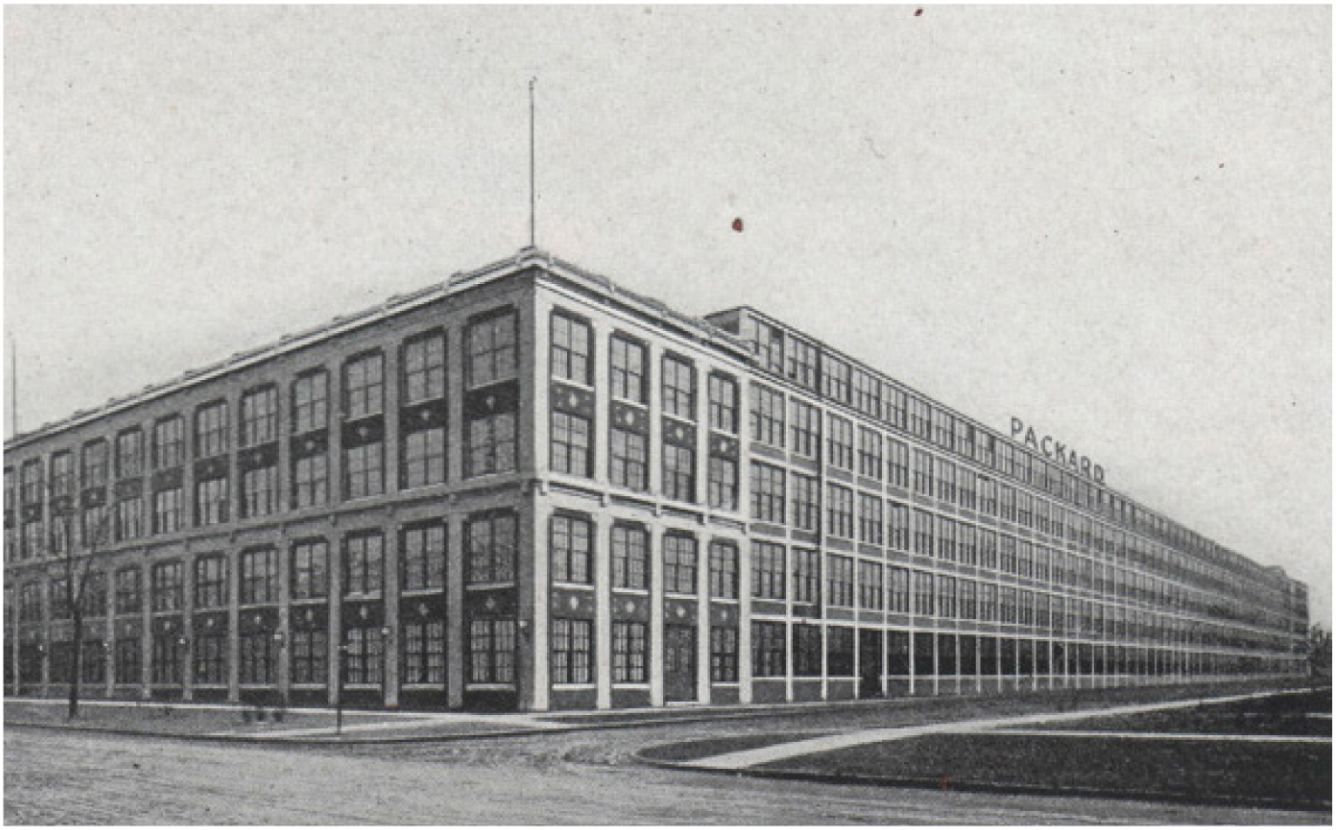
[Fig. 6.9] Aftermath of the 1938 flood in Los Angeles.

[Fig. 6.10] Aftermath of the 1938 flood in Los Angeles.

[Fig. 6.11] Construction of the LA River, c. 1938.

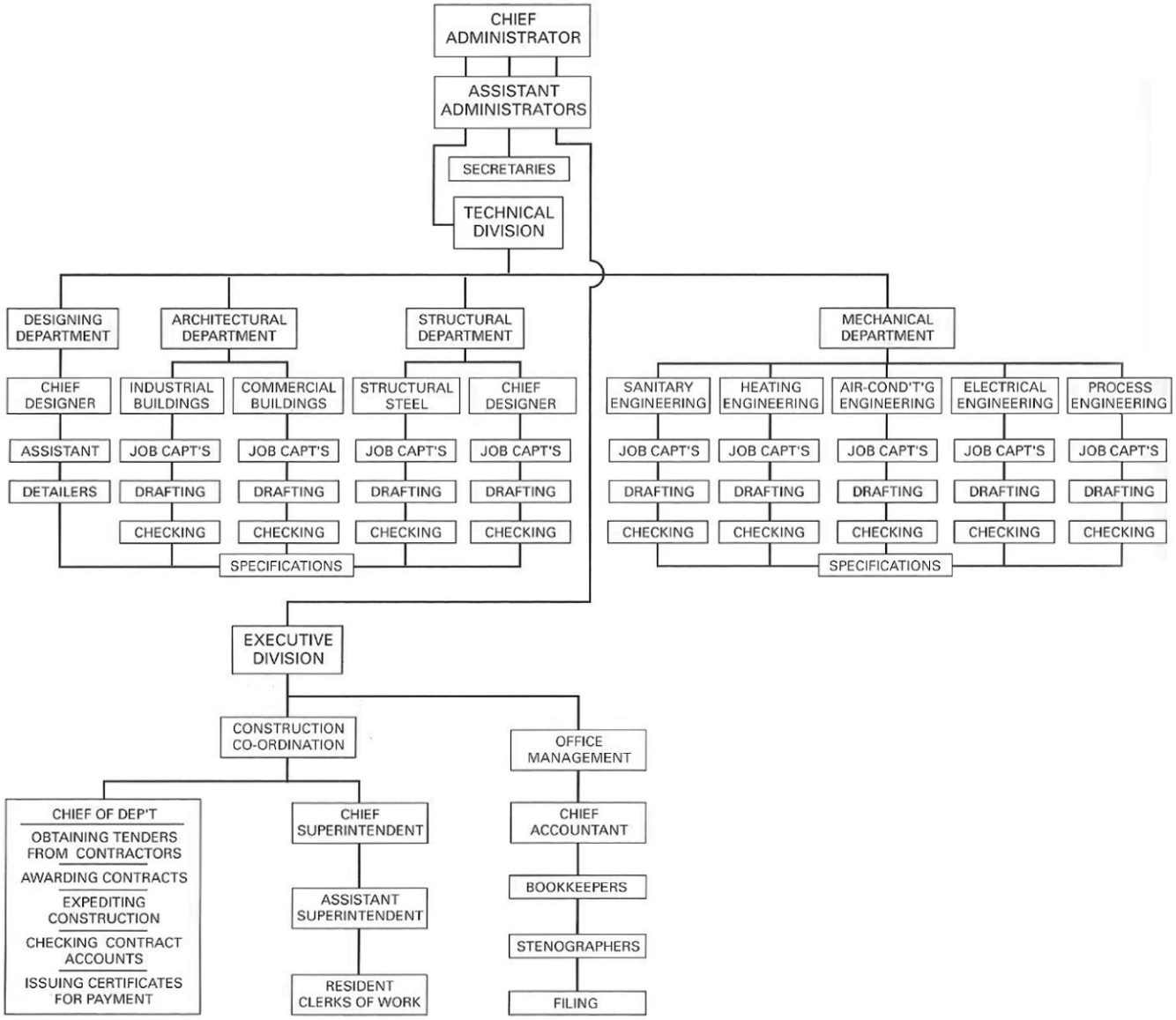


[**Fig. 6.12**] The Kahn System for Reinforced Concrete Construction.

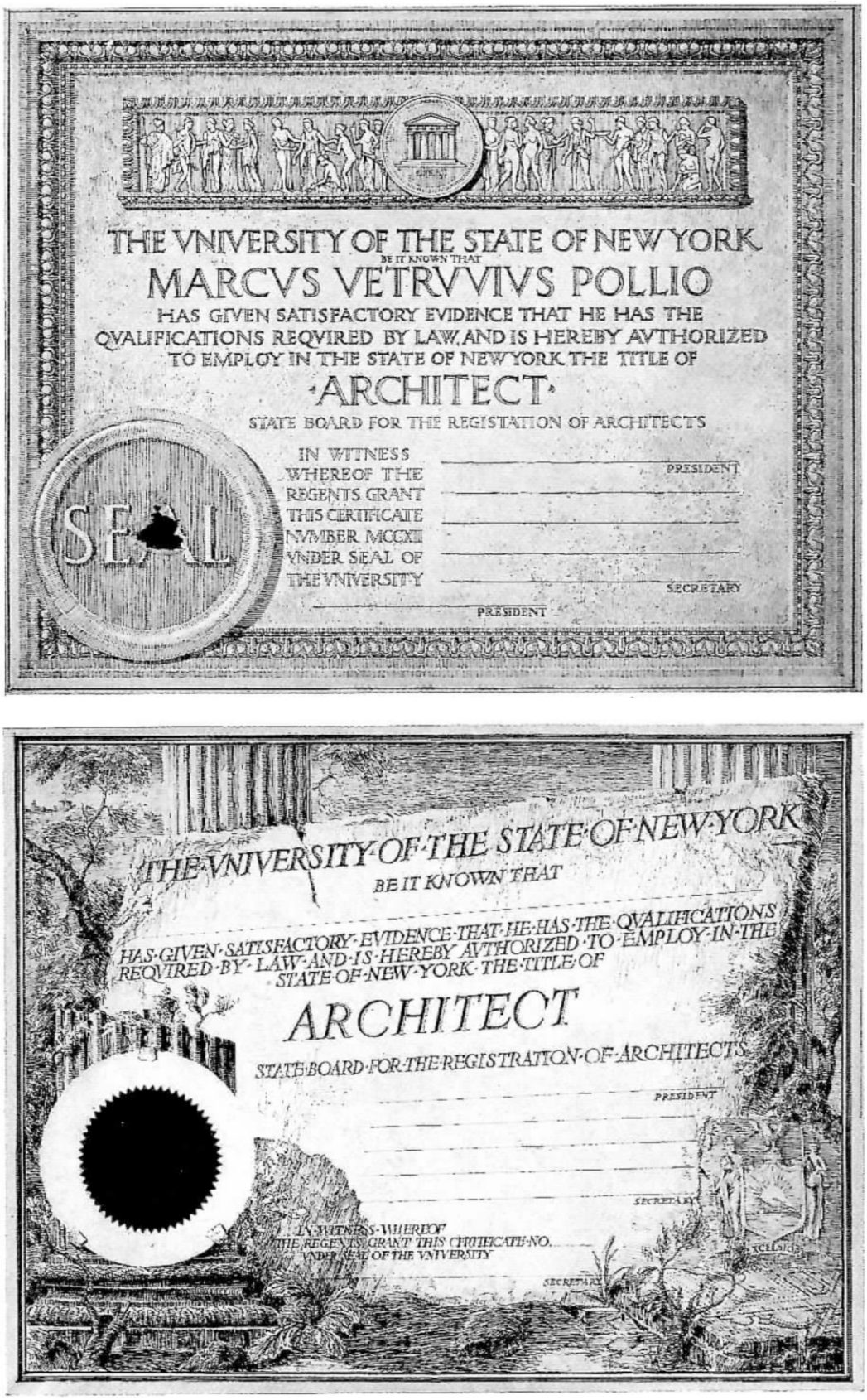


[**Fig. 6.13**] The Packard Plant #10 designed by Albert and Julius Kahn.

[Fig. 6.14] The Ford Highland Park Factory designed by Albert and Julius Kahn.



[Fig. 6.15] Organizational diagram of Albert Kahn, Associates. [George Nelson, *Industrial Architecture of Albert Kahn*, 1939]



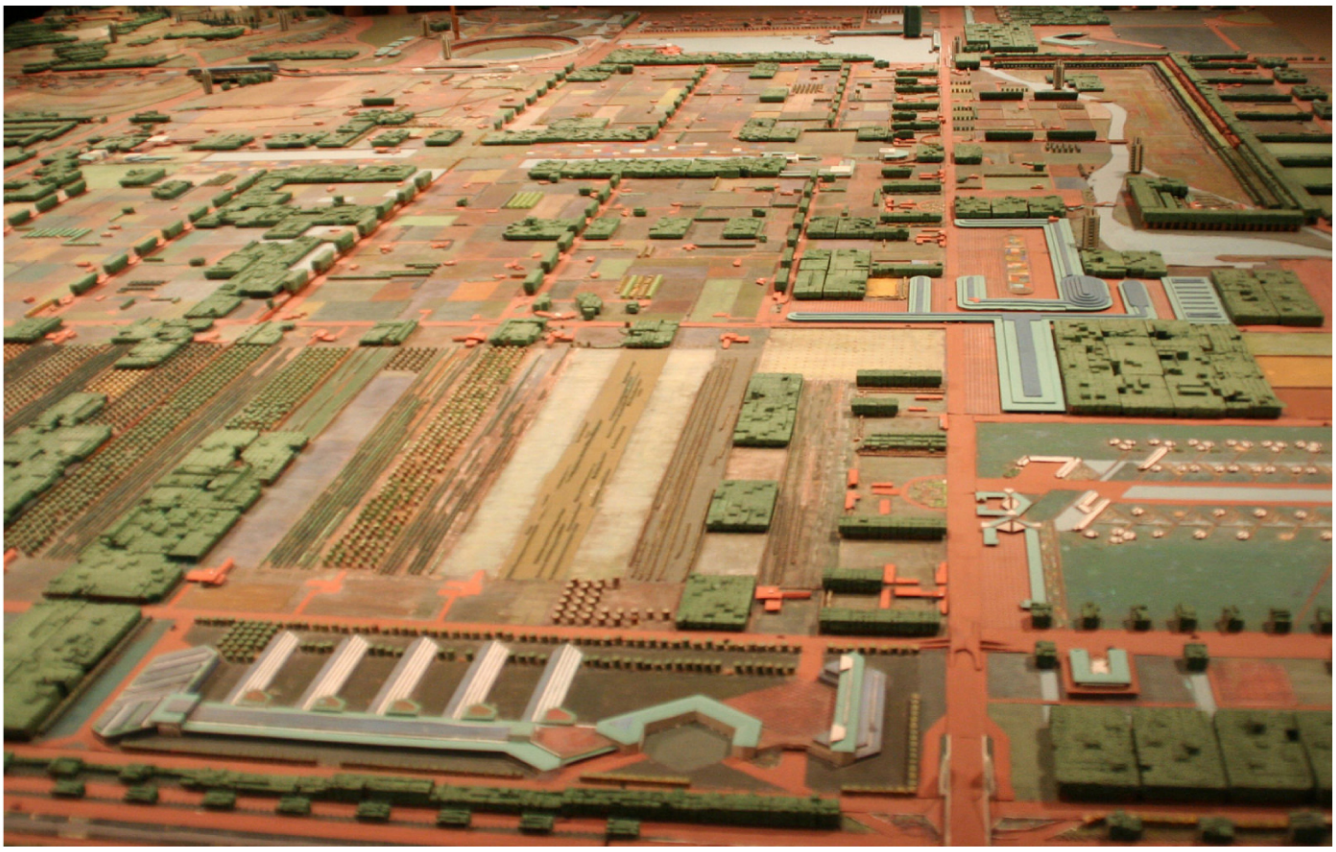
[**Fig. 6.16**] Winning entries for a competition to design the license certificate for the state of New York.

[Fig. 6.17] "International Style" Exhibition, Museum of Modern Art, 1932

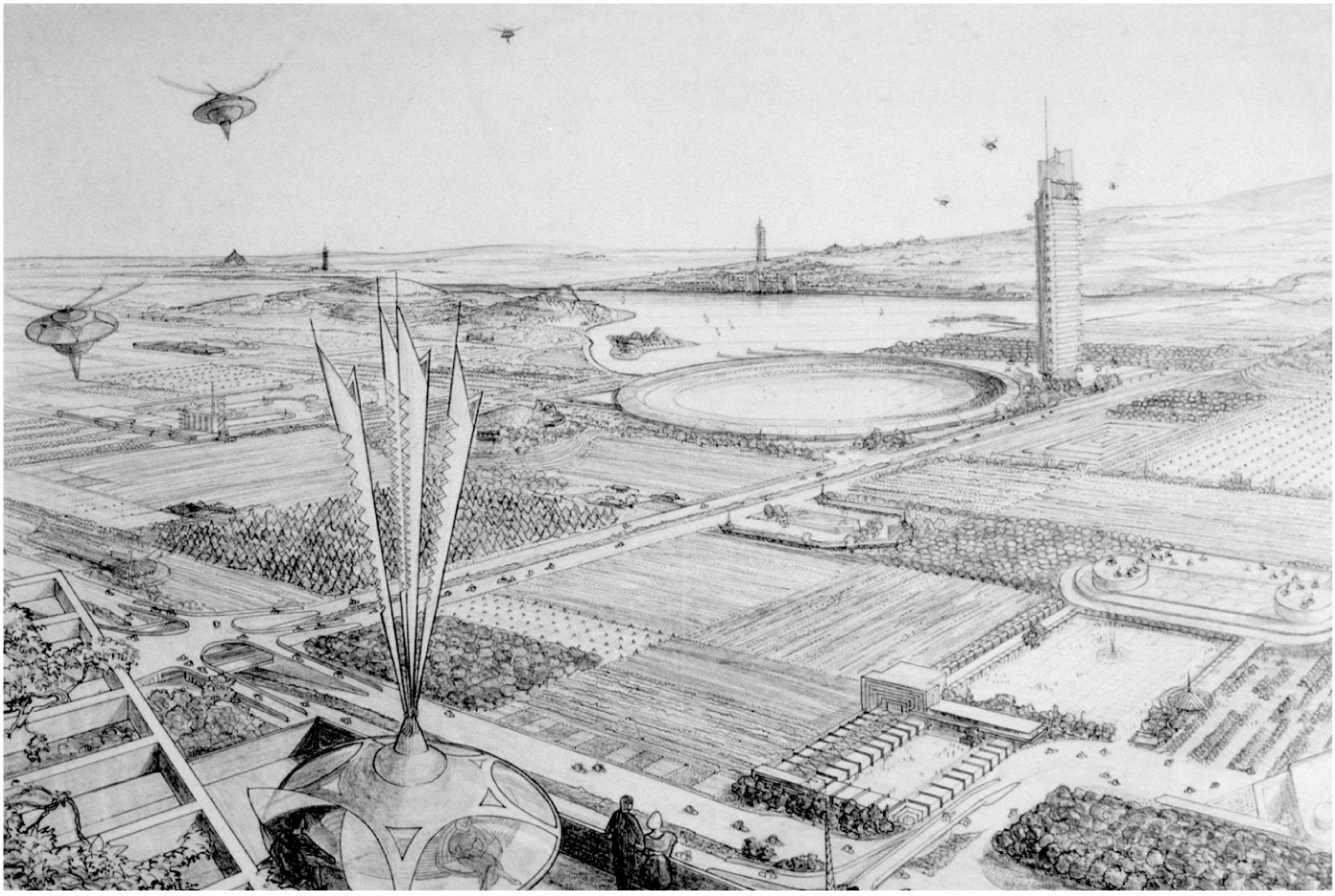
[Fig. 6.18] Interior Courtyard of Sunnyside Gardens, Queens, New York designed by Henry Wright and Clarence Stein

[Fig. 6.19] Radburn Community designed by Henry Wright and Clarence Stein, Fair Lawn, New Jersey

[Fig. 6.20] Radburn Community designed by Henry Wright and Clarence Stein, Fair Lawn, New Jersey



[Fig. 6.21] The Broadacre City (model), Frank Lloyd Wright



[Fig. 6.22] The Broadacre City (rendering), Frank Lloyd Wright

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

Since the American design fields had not yet come into full formation at the end of the nineteenth century, jurisdictional boundaries remained loose and provisional. However, a more explicit division of professional expertise accompanied the rapid spread of industrialized urbanization in the early twentieth century. By the 1930s, disciplinary boundaries had more or less solidified, with some professions clearly tied to the operations of the growing nation-state and others providing services to the private sector. As a result, the fluidity that allowed nineteenth-century practitioners to move freely between diverse professional contexts gave way to a more rigid and territorial working environment. By chronicling a series of specific jurisdictional conflicts between and among the American design professions, this study examines the ways in which competition and collaboration influenced the process of professional individuation. Collectively, these case studies suggest that jurisdictional dynamics contribute not only to the development of individual professions, but also to the reconfiguration of knowledge itself.

While professional overlap and competition affected numerous aspects of practice during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the design of *ground*—variously construed—was perhaps the most contested area of jurisdiction. The preceding chapters illustrate the multiple layers of this jurisdictional dilemma through discussions of building foundations, site organization, garden design, street layout, infrastructure, and city planning. This final chapter revisits these earlier findings in order to propose a jurisdictional model for inter-professional scholarship. As will be shown, such a model has implications not only for sociological research

on professions, but also for architectural and urban historiography, as well as contemporary design practice.

7.1 A Jurisdictional Model for Inter-Professional Analysis

Adopting Andrew Abbott's systems-based approach, this study argues that no profession ever achieves a state of absolute "maturity." Instead, each profession is constantly adapting to external forces and jurisdictional challenges from competitors. Consequently, in order to understand the historical development of a given profession, one must investigate its complex interconnections with allied disciplines. The cases discussed in this study provide concrete examples of how these dynamics manifest in practice. Viewed collectively, they provide the opportunity to speculate on a jurisdictional model for inter-professional analysis. Whereas disciplinary boundaries are often discussed in abstract and general terms—if they are discussed at all—a jurisdictional model would allow for more detailed and nuanced understandings of inter-professional dynamics. Such a model is illustrated here through a series of diagrams that map the jurisdictional boundaries and overlaps discussed in the preceding chapters.

Figure 7.1 highlights the professional overlap between architecture and civil engineering at the end of the nineteenth century. The dashed outlines at the interface of these two disciplines indicate a permeable boundary, which allowed certain kinds of practitioners—Frank Kidder, for instance—to move freely from one professional context to the other. As the diagram illustrates, the disciplinary overlap pertained primarily to the technical side of architecture, which undergirded curricula taught at land grant colleges established through the Morrill Act. By contrast, architects trained in the Beaux-Arts tradition, which prioritized design aesthetics over technical knowledge, remained quite separate from engineers during this period. Yet, while

American architects and civil engineers were content to share jurisdiction over certain technical aspects of practice, such as foundation design, they objected to the invasion of non-professionals. Both architects and engineers warned against the dangers of entrusting a contractor or foreman with the task of designing a building's foundation.

In Figure 7.2, several competing jurisdictional claims to country houses and gardens are mapped alongside one another. Although the disciplinary boundary between architecture and landscape architecture was apparent in this rural context, these two professions worked together to test out different models for collaboration. At the same time, however, a wide spectrum of non-professionals—from amateur homeowners to fine artists like Charles A. Platt—tested their own abilities in the design of country houses and gardens. This encroachment of outsiders was especially problematic for landscape architecture, which was smaller, younger, and therefore, more vulnerable than architecture. Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century, the outer perimeter of landscape architecture remained under constant attack from amateur gardeners, as well as botanists, horticulturists, and foresters.[525]

Figure 7.4 shows the result of a jurisdictional battle over the redesign of the National Mall. This significant project pitted the profession of architecture, represented by Burnham, McKim, and the AIA, against civil engineering, represented by Col. Theodore Bingham and the Army Corp of Engineers.[526] Interestingly, landscape architecture served as a buffer between

[525] While specific jurisdictional dynamics are often discussed separately in this study, it is important to remember that they developed concurrently. **Figure 7.3** emphasizes this point by stitching together the two diagrams discussed above into a single composite drawing.

[526] Through political persuasion, Col. Bingham acquired funding to produce a large plaster model of his design, which was presented to President McKinley, as well as numerous senators, congressmen, and state governors. Understandably, the idea that an engineer, rather than an architect, would design the nation's most famous residence disturbed the AIA. Yet, at this point in history, the design of buildings was a still an area of contested jurisdiction. Ultimately, the architects were able to successfully challenge Bingham's authority, and Charles McKim took authority over the White House renovation in 1903. While the impact of a single jurisdictional dispute should not be overstated, Bingham's defeat nonetheless signals a turning point for the profession of engineering. Following this development, engineers increasingly distanced themselves from debates over architectural aesthetics, focusing, instead, on large-scale infrastructural projects. Of course, larger technological and political forces also played a significant role in this shift from design to infrastructure. Nonetheless, the influence of jurisdictional outcomes remains a critical factor that has largely been ignored within the historiography.

these two competing professions, since each side was aligned with a particular landscape architect—Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. and Samuel Parsons, Jr., respectively. Ultimately, the cunning tactics of politicians, especially Senator James McMillan, tipped the scales in favor of Burnham, McKim, and the AIA.[527] As a result, American architects became the presumed leaders in the area of city planning—a development that stymied the ambitions of many civil engineers.

Figure 7.5 reveals that the architects' jurisdictional reign over city planning was short-lived. A wave of social and political reform movements transformed the ways in which Americans conceived the city and its problematics during the decades leading up to World War I. Consequently, landscape architects were able to successfully challenge the architects' jurisdiction over city planning by appealing to these new conceptions of urban reform. In this case, the architects' failure to adapt their City Beautiful approach to the new social conditions resulted in the loss of a jurisdictional territory. This development was all the more surprising because the profession of landscape architecture was relatively young and much smaller than the established professions of architecture and civil engineering. Nonetheless, the landscape architects' ability to react to external forces was enough not only to seize city planning from architects, but also to defend this jurisdictional territory from social reformers like Benjamin C. Marsh.

This review of case studies provides the opportunity to reflect upon the ways in which jurisdictional contests are settled. Within his book, *The System of Professions*, Andrew Abbott outlines a number of ways in which jurisdictional territories can change hands. Drawing upon the

[527] Additionally, the fact that all three members of the Senate Park Commission had been involved in the design of the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago should not be overlooked. As a tangible example of what kinds of monumental public space they could create, the so-called "White City" undoubtedly gave credibility to Burnham, McKim and Olmsted, Jr. in their bid to redesign the National Mall. In this way, one might suggest that the convergence of political connections and demonstrated capabilities allowed architects to claim jurisdiction over city planning at the turn of the twentieth century.

so-called "vacancy model," which is often used to describe official appointments like Judge or Bishop, Abbott notes that professions sometimes relinquish existing jurisdictional territories to pursue newly formed or newly vacated territories. When this happens, another profession might, in turn, take over the territory left behind. As Abbott puts it, "events propagate backwards in some sense, with jurisdictional vacancies, rather than the professions themselves, having much of the initiative."[528] Such a framework explains how land surveying was ultimately excluded from both the architect's and the civil engineer's purview. Taking over this line of work was a new professional body of land surveyors, who eventually developed their own educational pathways and separate licensure requirements. Or, one might think of how contemporary architectural firms often outsource the production of renderings, thereby willfully relinquishing their control over a task that was once fundamental to the discipline of architecture.

While the "vacancy model" offers key insights within certain contexts, it does not apply to most of the jurisdictional disputes outlined in this study. Jurisdiction over the design of cities, for instance, was not simply handed over from one profession to another. Instead, this jurisdictional territory was the locus of intense competition among numerous professions. Therefore, it is important to reflect upon the factors—both internal and external to the system of professions—that contribute to the eventual outcomes of these jurisdictional battles. As both Abbott and Larson point out, large-scale, technological and societal changes can radically affect the distribution of work across professions.[529] After all, it was the increased complexity of urban infrastructures—sewers, electrical lines, streetcars, skyscrapers, and so on—that created the initial need for multiple design professions in the late nineteenth century. And, it was the rise of

[528] Abbott, *The System of Professions*, 3.
[529] Ibid., 92. Also, see Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism*, xii: "If a profession's work or actual performance 'comes to have little relationship to the knowledge and values of its society, it may have difficulty surviving.' Revolutionary social change should therefore have profound implications for professional practice because it affects, in both relative and absolute terms, the social status that established professions had achieved in previous regimes."

social reform that allowed landscape architects to take authority over city planning. At the same time, however, internal factors also contribute to which profession prevails in any given jurisdictional dispute. For instance, a profession's political clout or demonstrated experience can help secure a contested jurisdictional territory.

As this brief discussion illustrates, the outcomes of jurisdictional conflicts are affected by both internal factors *and* larger socio-cultural and technological shifts. Furthermore, landscape architecture's takeover of city planning (Fig. 7.5) reveals that a profession's size or maturity may not be as critical as its ability to react to the conditions and needs of the present. Most importantly, the diagrams discussed above reinforce the point that linkages between professions and their work are not absolute, but instead, persist in a state of constant vulnerability.[530] In fact, it is this perpetual tug-of-war for jurisdiction that guides professional development. "Without this struggle," Hélène Lipstadt argues, "there can be no field."

As the twentieth century progressed, the American design professions became increasingly differentiated from one another. The momentum behind progressive politics, which initially benefited landscape architects, ultimately contributed to the formation of an independent profession for city planning, thereby stripping landscape architecture of its jurisdictional victory.[531] One of the most significant consequences of professional individuation was the

[530] At the same time, however, it must be acknowledged that jurisdictional territories do become more secure over time, as knowledge and authority are codified within education systems and legal frameworks for practice. That is to say, a profession can acquire a certain level of *momentum* that tips the scale in its favor. Still, Magali Sarfatti Larson argues that architecture's particular knowledge base precludes the formation of a monopoly: "Architecture is an exceptional profession because it cannot, by definition, establish a monopoly; unlike other older professions, it does not succeed in establishing jurisdiction against either professional competitors or lay resistance...In the cultural situation of our time it is simply easier to resist than a demonstrably scientific base, such as medicine or engineering can claim, or an expertise ultimately based on the state's coercive powers, such as that possessed by lawyers." Magali Sarfatti Larson, "Emblem and Exception," *Professionals and Urban Form*, 75-76.

[531] The emergence of city planning as an independent profession fundamentally altered—but did not eliminate—discussions of urban development within the discipline of architecture. Without tangible commissions, architects increasingly used city planning as a medium for imaginative speculation. Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City, for instance, demonstrates this shift from reality to fantasy. His drawings for the project propose an expansive horizontal city, populated with flying cars and other futuristic elements. In this sense, a jurisdictional loss for architects resulted in a new mode of urban speculation, which emphasized the rhetorical role of representational media, such as drawings and models.

division between public and private work. In the period following World War I, American architects and landscape architects increasingly served as expert advisors to private clients, while civil engineers and city planners were absorbed into government-sponsored projects. This dynamic resulted in a reconfiguration of the American design professions, which is illustrated in Figure 7.6.

The research presented in this study supports Andrew Abbott's argument that professions must be analyzed in relation to their competitors. Such a position challenges the traditional model of professionalization, which emphasizes the independent, linear progression toward a state of maturity. In place of professionalization, this study proposes a jurisdictional model for inter-professional scholarship. Yet, while Abbott's discussion of jurisdiction has been an essential point of reference for this study, the diagrams outlined above reveal certain limitations in his approach. More specifically, Abbott's theory of jurisdiction assumes that professions are already fully individuated groups. For this reason, his approach does not address the nature of field formations or the provisional establishment of disciplinary boundaries.[532] This study extends Abbott's research by examining both inter-professional competition *and* more fluid, disciplinary overlaps.[533]

7.2 Implications for Design Historiography

Beyond its immediate challenge to the sociology of professions, this study's jurisdictional model also has implications for design historiography. The cases examined in the preceding

[532] Abbott himself acknowledged this limitation in a contribution to the *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*: "Abbott's test—a profession is an occupation that competes by retheorizing others' work—presupposes fixed and organized occupations of a kind that simply may not exist under modern conditions of employment." Andrew Abbott, "Professions, Sociology of," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, eds. N. Smelser and P. Baltes (Amsterdam; New York: Elsevier, 2001), 12166-69.

[533] In Chapter Two, for instance, the divisions between architects and civil engineers are so nebulous that practitioners could easily shape-shift from one to the other. Such a condition does not reflect an atmosphere of professional competition so much as it indicates the gradual nature of field formations.

chapters highlight jurisdictional dynamics affecting numerous manifestations of ground within the American design professions. While many architects initially predicted that a "modern" house would be defined by its marriage of building and ground, such a vision did not materialize within twentieth-century practice. Instead, modern architecture is often characterized by the isolation and estrangement of buildings from their immediate sites and surrounding landscapes.[537] However, most theorists and historians who discuss this phenomenon ignore the role of professional competition entirely. For this reason, the development of the building/ground dynamic within American architectural practice provides an opportunity to consider the ways in which this study's analysis of jurisdictional dynamics pushes back against existing discourses and historiographies on architectural modernism.

Apart from a general preoccupation with formal stylistics, historians of modern architecture often emphasize the strained relationship between building and ground. Whereas earlier epochs of architectural production featured an intimate bond between buildings and their surrounding landscapes, modern architecture, they argue, took on the metaphor of a technologically sophisticated machine, estranged from its physical and cultural context. To illustrate this point, many historians and critics cite canonical modernist works like Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye, the model for which was the centerpiece of the 1932 "International Style" exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York. Furthermore, some critics even imbue this formal separation of building and ground with political meaning. For instance, Jeffrey Kipnis has suggested that Villa Savoye's divorce from the ground plane is representative of modern architecture's democratic urge to "disentangle buildings from land as

[537] For instance, see Jeffrey Kipnis, *A Question of Qualities* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013), 83; Carol Burns, "On Site: Architectural Preoccupations," in *Drawing/Building/Text*, ed. A. Kahn (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991), 152; and Joel Sanders, "Human/Nature: Wilderness and the Landscape/Architecture Divide," in *Groundwork: Between Landscape and Architecture*, eds. D. Balmori and J. Sanders (New York: Monacelli Press, 2011).

an exercise of power."[538] Putting aside the fact that this physical detachment of building from ground does not even hold true for all of the works featured in the MoMA exhibition (Mies' Tugendhat House, for example, is firmly embedded within the topography of its site), one might question the historiographical methods used to derive these kinds of interpretations. In fact, a focused analysis of the professional context reveals contradictions and over-generalizations within existing criticism on the role of ground within modern architecture.

In the United States, modern architecture was initially conceived as a synthesis of building and ground. Writing in 1899, one contributor to *Brickbuilder* noted, "The modern architect who has schemed out the general arrangement of floor space and communication, of plan and facade, has only begun his work...That the varying conditions of site and surroundings exert a strong influence upon architecture needs no argument; and that an architectural design should in some degree include its surroundings is equally logical."[539] Even the nation's most celebrated modern architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, concurred with this assessment, arguing that "a building should appear to grow easily from its site and be shaped to harmonize with its surroundings."[540] So, within the American context, the clichéd analogy of modern architecture as a detached machine completely breaks down. Whether one considers Wright's prairie houses, which embed themselves into their horizontal landscapes, or Richard Neutra's West Coast masterpieces, which can be characterized by a permeability of interior and exterior, it is clear that American modernism was never predicated on the isolation of building from ground. In fact, as discussed in Chapter Two, many American practitioners of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries believed that whatever a modern building might be, it would rely on the unification of architecture and landscape. The fact that this vision never became a reality (at least

[538] Jeffrey Kipnis, *A Question of Qualities* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013), 83.
[539] Elmer E. Garnsey, "The Formal Garden," *Brickbuilder* 8, no. 4 (April 1899): 70.
[540] Wright, "The Cause of Architecture," 157.

not the dominant reality) owes more to the professional split between American architects and landscape architects than the import of European ideals or political statements. Rather than relying solely on philosophical explanations of architectural and urban development, historians should acknowledge the guiding influence of jurisdictional dynamics within the system of professions.

7.3 Implications for Contemporary Practice

In addition to engaging architectural historiography, this study of professional jurisdiction also has implications for contemporary practice. Over the past two decades, the design professions have rallied around notions of interdisciplinary collaboration and integration. The emergence of digital technologies has fueled this interest through Building Information Modeling (BIM) platforms, which allow architects, engineers, and contractors to work collaboratively on a single, digital model. Meanwhile, digital fabrication technologies are closing the divide between architectural design and construction.

Hybridized design practices have also gained traction in recent years. In 1997, the Graham Foundation sponsored a conference on "Landscape Urbanism," which centered around the idea that the techniques of landscape architecture could serve as tools for reviving deindustrialized urban spaces. At the same time, a number of high-profile architects began to explore the aesthetic potential of the ground. They designed buildings that grew out of the landscape, tessellating and folding to mimic the topography of the earth.[541] In the spring of 2009, Stan Allen organized a conference at Princeton University, entitled "Landform Building:

[541] Among the projects that exemplify this trend are Toyo Ito's Grin Grin Park in Fukuoka, Japan; Renzo Piano's Vulcano Buono shopping mall in Nola, Italy; and the Yokohama International Port Terminal in Yokohama, Japan designed by Foreign Office Architects.

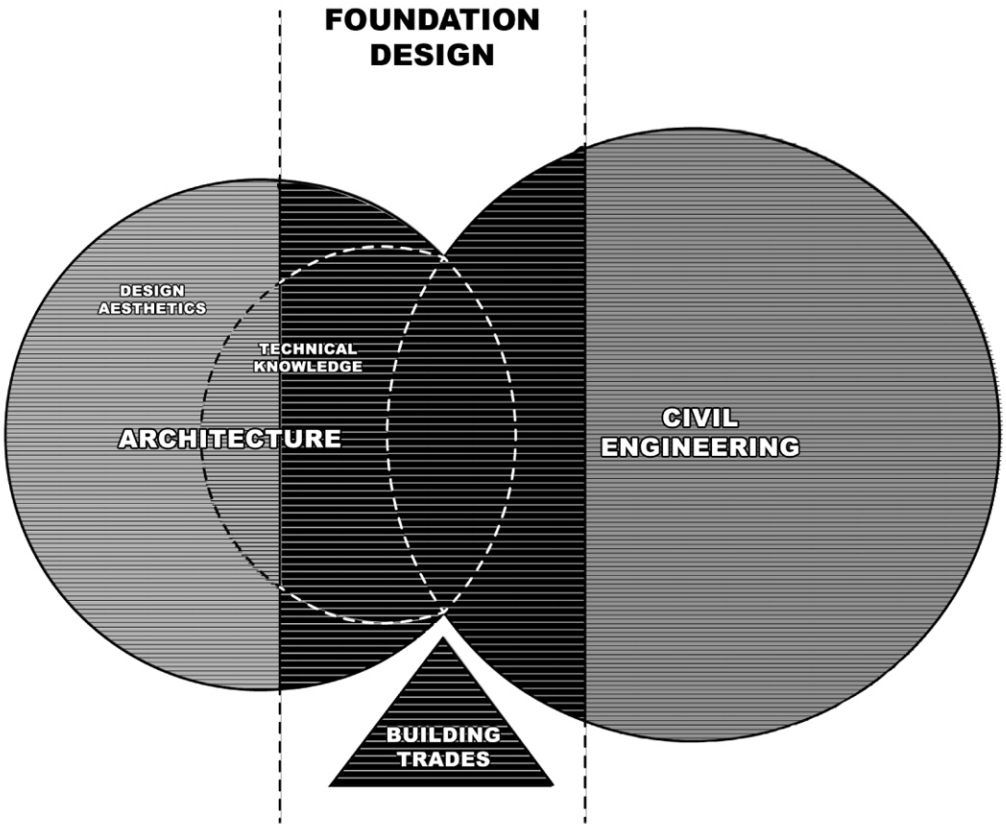
Architecture's New Terrain," to examine both the theoretical underpinnings and the practical difficulties of this emerging architectural approach. While these conferences, exhibitions, and building projects each had separate audiences and agendas, they nonetheless shared a common theme: reintegrating the disciplines of architecture, landscape design, and urban planning, which had grown apart from each other during the twentieth century.

This recent emphasis on integration has heightened the need for historical analysis of the forces that shaped our contemporary discourses and practices. While some argue that blurring the distinctions between architecture, engineering, landscape architecture, and urban planning opens up new possibilities for practice, it may also exacerbate latent tensions among the design professions. Unfortunately, existing historiographies have failed to provide an adequate context for evaluating the benefits and drawbacks of interdisciplinary and hybridized practice. By highlighting the profound impacts of jurisdictional competition among professions, this study provides a broader historical context for contemporary discussions on Landscape Urbanism and Landform Building, as well as emerging digital platforms like BIM. In the very moment that contemporary theorists are speculating on the possibility of reintegrating design practices, this study calls for reflection upon the ways in which professionalization contributed to a split between architecture and its allied disciplines during the early decades of the twentieth century.

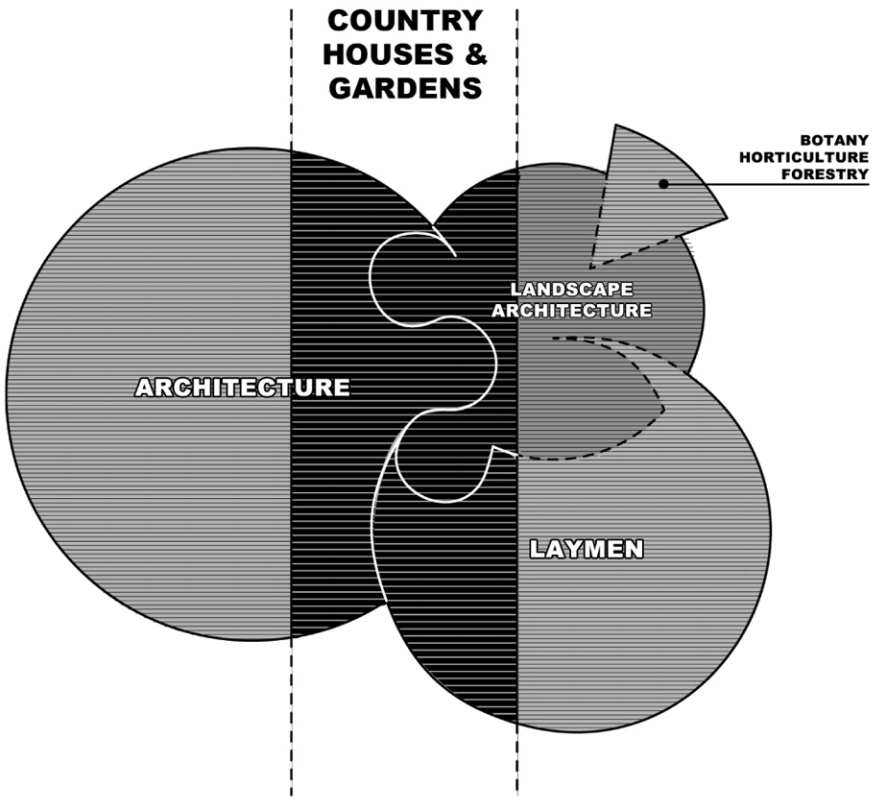
While the design professions have begun to explore notions of integration in the twenty-first century, design historiography remains remarkably fragmented. Too often, historians work wholly within the established boundaries of their field, thereby, reinforcing the disjointed character of academic discourse. In fact, many histories of architecture are written as if the disciplines of civil engineering, landscape architecture, and city planning simply do not exist.

Within these texts, architects are portrayed as versatile heroes who not only design buildings, but also cities, infrastructures, and landscapes. This study aims to revise such historiographical delusion. By charting the formation of disciplinary boundaries and jurisdictional territories within the American design professions, this research offers the promise of a truly interdisciplinary conversation that could radically disrupt the current configuration of design historiography.

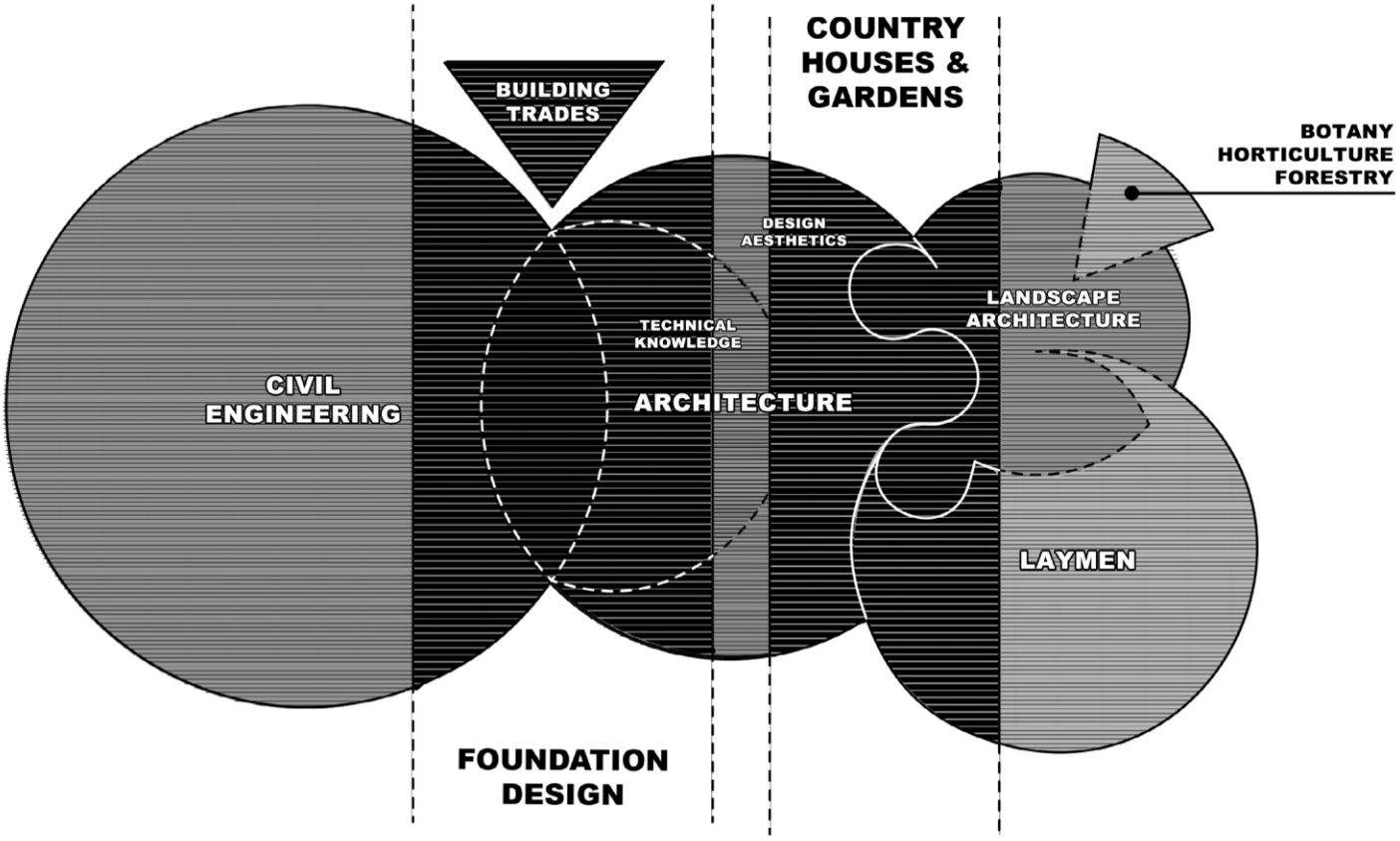
The conclusions of such a historiographical project are not yet knowable. On the one hand, when we realize that the division of expertise for designing buildings and cities is a recent construction, the boundaries between and among professions might begin to seem less self-evident, less natural. This realization could, in turn, open up hybrid discourses and practices that synthesize, rather than fragment, the various components of a city. On the other hand, however, there may be strong arguments to support the design fields retaining their individual identities. After all, if hybridized practices were to become the norm, then the current educational and licensure systems would need to be reimagined. But regardless of what conclusions are drawn, inter-professional dynamics come with historical baggage that should be fully considered by practitioners and theorists alike. Without this knowledge of the past, we can only have a partial and incomplete vision for the future.



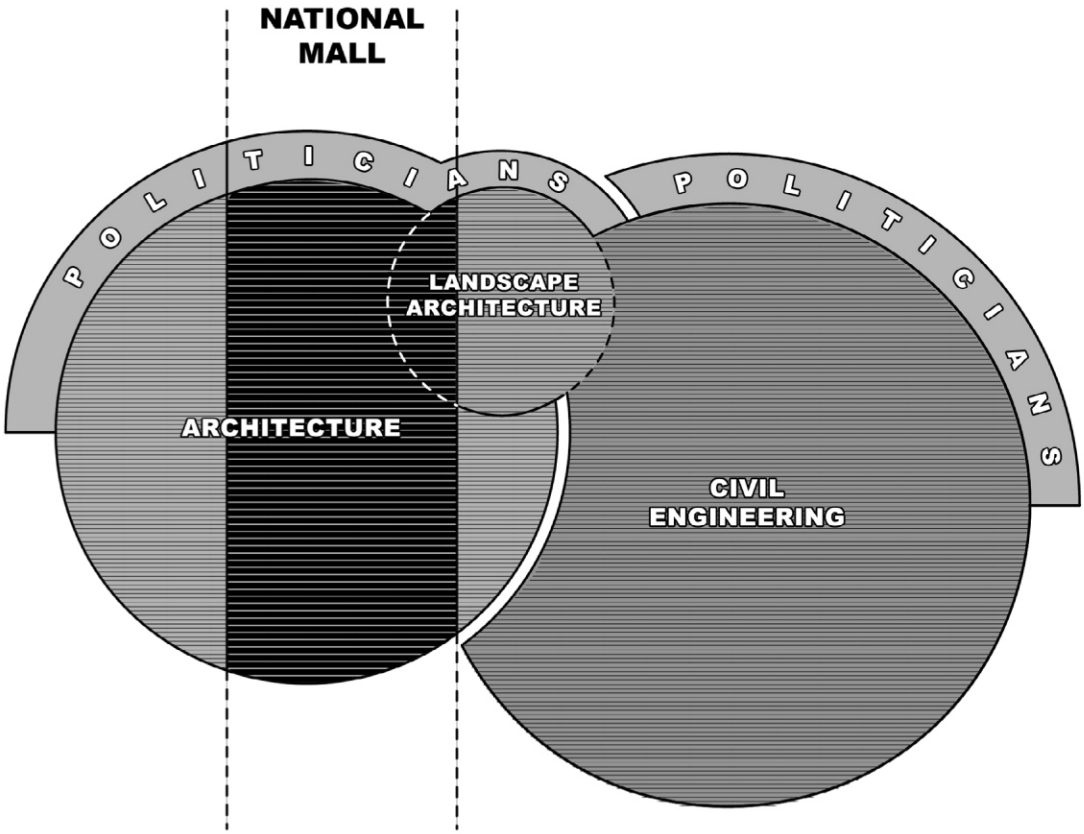
[**Fig. 7.1**] Jurisdictional map of foundation design at the end of the nineteenth century.



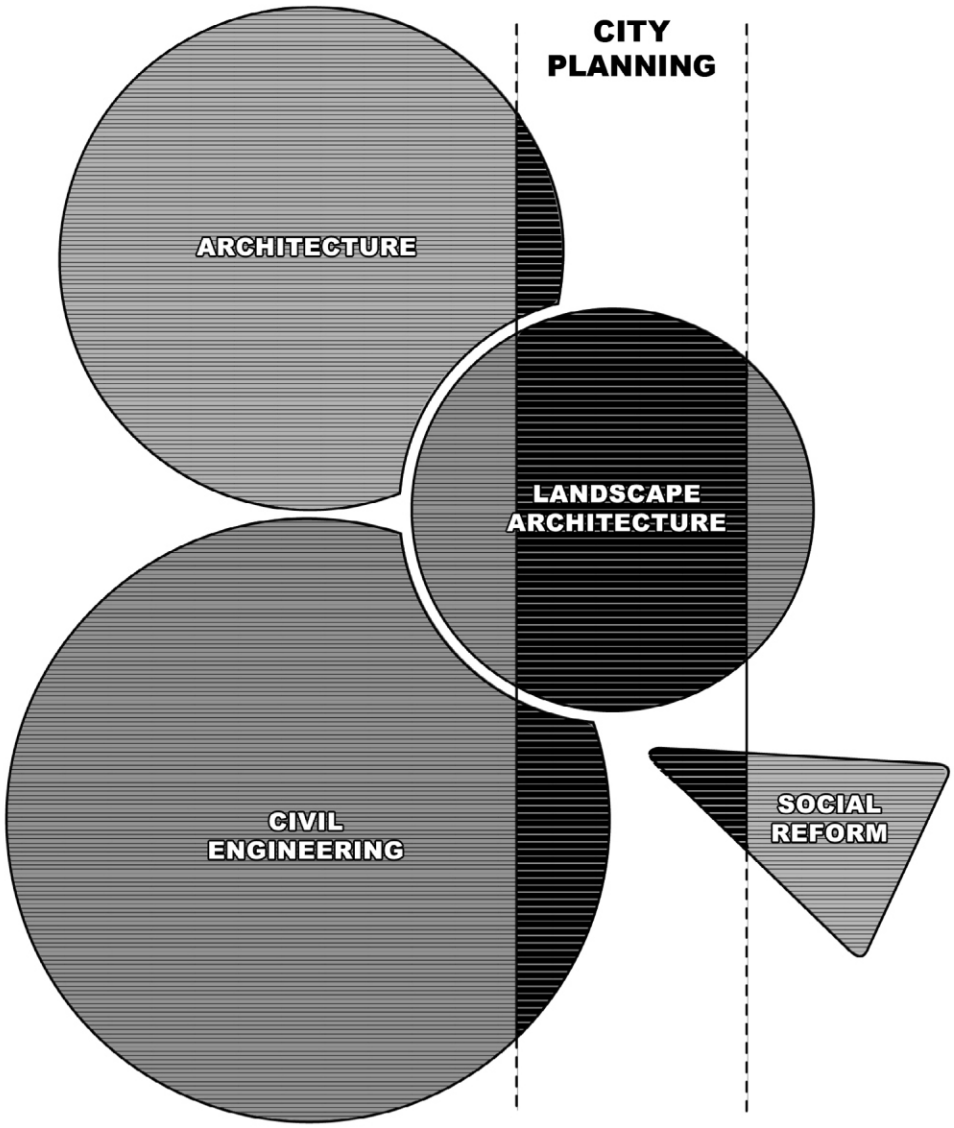
[**Fig. 7.2**] Jurisdictional map of country houses and gardens during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.



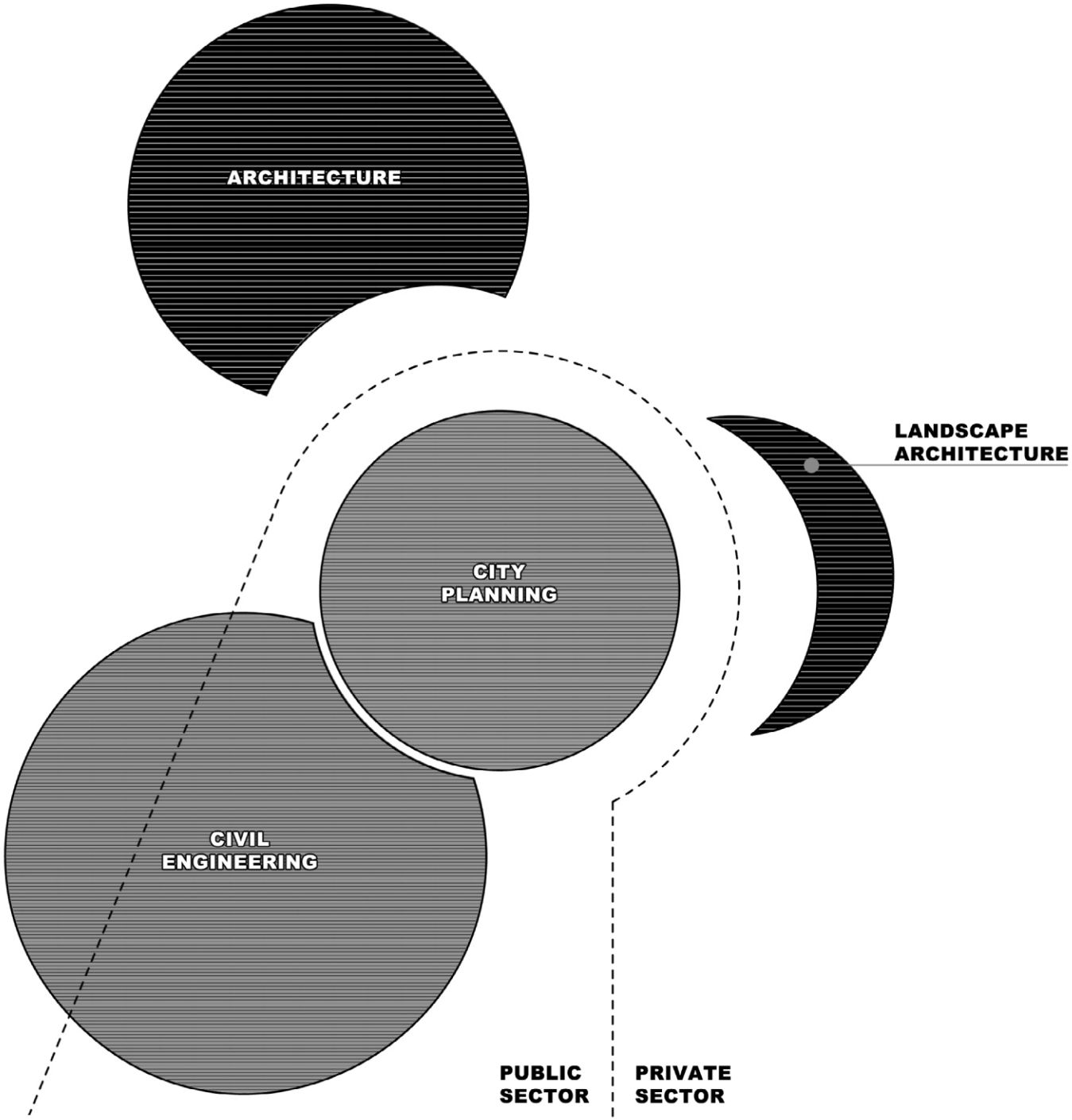
[**Fig. 7.3**] Composite jurisdictional map of foundation design and country houses and gardens during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.



[**Fig. 7.4**] Jurisdictional map of the National Mall during the early twentieth century.



[**Fig. 7.5**] Jurisdictional map of city planning during the second decade of the twentieth century.



[Fig. 7.6] Jurisdictional map of the American design professions during the interwar period.

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